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Cover: *Queen Mother of the West Riding a Phoenix*

Anonymous, Ming dynasty. Embroidery. Hanging scroll in satin, 66.3 x 48.1 cm. This is one of a series of twelve panels illustrating the Eight Immortals rejoicing in longevity. The principal lady in the celebration is the Queen Mother of the West, shown descending from heaven on a multi-colored phoenix and carrying the sacred peaches of immortality. A maidservant stands at her side in attendance. See C. Y. Hsu's article "The Queen Mother of the West: Historical or Legendary?" on pp. 29-42. Courtesey of National Palace Museum, Taipei.

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Anatomy of the Ananda Marga: Hindu Anabaptists

Narasingha P. Sil

I

It is common knowledge that the rise of prophets and godmen in post-independent India has been quite spectacular. The prophets, who seem to proliferate every year, are the products not necessarily of any heightened spiritual consciousness but apparently of an outburst of neoprimitivism resulting from political despair, economic hardship, and intellectual bankruptcy of the people. These *gurus* are truly, as one writer has said, shrewd "religious operators" who "have learnt to blend American business practices with a namby-pamby philosophy."¹ Like the shamans of the past these godmen have succeeded in deluding millions within and outside India, thanks to their operational and organizational efficiency and the gullibility of a people perpetually in search of a short cut to salvation. Such spiritual multinationals are too many and too familiar to mention here.

Happily, India can also boast of some visionaries whose spiritual movements seek to transform human nature and society. Many of them do not attract the well-to-do because they choose to eschew pomp and panache adored by the affluent. On the other

hand, they insist on cultivating a love for austerity, strict morality, and above all, social responsibility.² An eminent example of this latter type of spiritual leaders is an obscure ex-railways clerk, Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar, whose organization, the Ananda Marga ("Path of Bliss"), is the subject matter of this essay. In spite of persistent persecution to which this sect has been a victim from the late sixties to the early eighties — climaxed by the brutal public murder of eighteen of its members on April 30, 1982 in Calcutta — it has remained stubbornly attached to its spiritual and social program.³

Two lengthy reports on the Ananda Marga were published in 1982, for the first time since its inception in 1955, by two leading newsmagazines of India — *Sunday* (Calcutta) and *India Today* (New Delhi) — which, however, presented a cadaverous image of the sect: a brotherhood of benighted and bigotted *sannyāsins* (monks) under the sinister command of Sarkar, an old and ailing sadist, who indulges in a variety of esoteric tantric practices.⁴ At the same time, almost all the accounts of the organization written by its leader and other members (not easily available in the market) are too specious and

sanctimonious to be credible. This paper seeks to understand the ideology and aims of the Ananda Marga by comparing them to those of the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century. In spite of the tremendous gap between the two movements in time and space, there are numerous interesting parallels in their experiences and spiritual programs. This exercise is expected to help readers situate the Ananda Marga within the broader framework of similar organizations in other parts of the world and evaluate its preachings and practices objectively instead of dismissing it simply as an association of the abominable.

Both the Ananda Margis and the Anabaptists are typical religious sects possessing such features as voluntariness, exclusivity, merit, self-identification, elite status, expulsion, conscience, and legitimation.⁵ Both may also be characterized as "revitalization movements."⁶ Such movements arise in a disequilibrated society suffering from loss of authority in order to save it from inevitable disintegration. They tend to restore or resort to what they consider the pristine glory of authentic spiritualism. Thus Anabaptism, claiming to be a restoration of authentic Christianity of the days of the Apostles, arose in a period of religious turmoil (the Reformation) and political instability (rise of nation states in defiance of the authority of the Holy Roman Empire).⁷ Basing itself on the fundamental tenets of ancient Hindu tantrism, the Ananda Marga developed after the Second World War in the newly independent India amidst an atmosphere of anxiety, insecurity, and a sense of dislocation following industrialization and the consequent breakdown of tradition and custom.⁸ This is what an Ananda

Margi described as a "psycho-social crisis."⁹ Both movements sought to bring about some cohesion and renewal of the traditional simple moral life and formulated their alternative paradigm of values. Products of a society they despised and sought to transform, both Anabaptism and Ananda Marga looked at once to an apostolic past and an apocalyptic future.

Both can also be viewed as "introversionist" sects who dissociate from the traditional society and depend increasingly on their community. Even if not vicinally segregated from the world, they yet retain a strong sense of their own sanctity. Their community life emphasizes spiritual exercises (*sādhana*) which confer a "transcendent holiness" upon them.¹⁰ As Robert Friedmann observed, for the Anabaptists "it is not 'faith alone' which matters . . . but it is brotherhood, . . . as the way to God's kingdom."¹¹ The leader of the Ananda Marga exhorted his followers: "Today I extend my earnest request to all reasonably virtuous and moral fighters that they form a good, well-disciplined *sadvipra* society without further delay. . . . These *sadvipras* will work for the good of all countries, for the all-round emancipation of all humanity."¹²

In Indian context, especially, the objective of Sarkar's sect is quite in keeping with the tradition of Hindu revivalism of the late nineteenth century. Hindu revivalists such as Swami Vivekananda, Balgangadhar Tilak, Aurobindo Ghosh, Bipin Chandra Pal, or Swaminarayan (Sahajananda Swami) had attempted "to blend religious with socio-economic values to foster a revived sense of community and ultimately to espouse nationalism."¹³ The revivalists insisted

on what they considered the correct principles of *dharma* (religion) to regulate the individual's social, political, and economic responsibilities and the principles of *karma* (philosophy of activism) to enhance his willed actions. Their larger concern was "to create a life-affirming orientation." At the same time, "like millennial movements in Europe, the political character of Indian revivalism derived much of its strength from the importance of preparing for salvation."¹⁴ They all employed the *Bhāgavad Gītā* (the chapter on the philosophy of *karma* in the epic *Mahābhārata*) to legitimize their reformulations.

II

Before we begin a systematic examination of the background and ideas of the Ananda Marga and the Anabaptists, it will be necessary to point out two important differences between the two movements. First, unlike the founder of Anabaptism, Conrad Grebel, who was a well-educated classical humanist from a fine patrician family of Zurich, the founder of the Ananda Marga hailed from a humble background and was a college dropout, whose writings and preachings are products of his personal enlightenment. Second, while Sarkar's sect has developed a veritable personality cult around its leader, the Swiss Brethren never elevated Grebel to the status of a superman or an incarnation of God. With the exception of these two facts, both movements present striking parallels.

The Anabaptists (Greek word meaning "rebaptisers") considered themselves true baptists because they thought infant baptism no sacrament at all and that

only the adult, capable of accountability and discretion, qualified for the ceremony as a symbol of regeneration. They denied the authority of the church as an institution; theirs was a community of believers, a "gathered church." Believing themselves to be saints on earth and thus assured of their salvation, the Anabaptists refused to conform to secular government, the government for the "sinners." Hence they refused to bear arms, swear oaths in court of law, or participate in government. At the same time they believed that they should resist the forces of secular power not by a show of violence but by forbearing all tribulations with patience and courage. And yet they were not a bunch of anarchists, but a dedicated and conscientious group of Christians who were keen on "imitating" Christ in their everyday life.

The Ananda Marga questions the spiritual base of the current Hindu religion and practices. Rituals, prayers, pilgrimages and the like, which have a pervasive influence on the average Indian, are regarded by Sarkar as aspects of what he has called a "geo-religion" or "psuedo-religion" (*upadharma*).¹⁵ He is likewise against the various gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, whom he regards as "wholly created by human beings, maintained by human beings."¹⁶ While recognizing that "*dharma* is the main current of human life," he seeks to offer a "comprehensive ideology which provides definite, clearcut and bold directions for all aspects of human life — from one's personal daily routine, to one's social activities and collective motivation, to the spiritual inspiration which brings one closer and closer to God."¹⁷ This ideology, that is, theology, is predicated upon a belief in the

existence of a Supreme Consciousness or the *Parama Puruṣa* — the demiurge of the universe — to whom all human beings must strive to return. *Sādhanā* is thus “the process of returning home.” And “it is a simple task. It requires no scholarship, no knowledge, no intellectual faculty, no long and tedious lecturing.”¹⁸ All one needs is devotion, a feeling of oneness with the people of the world, a strictly moral life, and above all, a genuine master — *sadguru*. The two little treatises by Sarkar — *Thoughts of P.R. Sarkar* and *Light Comes* — are replete with multiple injunctions and instructions with a view to teaching these familiar tantric principles.

Within the Anabaptist “church” a strict sort of democracy and equality applied. *Omnia sunt communia* — “all things are common” — this was the motto of these people who believed in a strict communality of goods (*Gütergemeinschaft*) described in the second chapter of the Act of the Apostles. Each believer was both priest to his fellow believer and missionary to the unbelievers. “We should not forget even for a moment,” says Sarkar, “that this whole animate world is a large family in which nature has not assigned any property to any particular individual.”¹⁹ In fact, his theory of society envisions a global family in which no hoarding but the accumulation of spiritual wealth is encouraged.²⁰

Though among the Anabaptists there were spiritualists and evangelical rationalists such as Hans Denck of Nuremberg, Sebastian Franck, Casper Schwenckfeld, or Michael Servetus, who arrived at their theological ideas by the study of the sources and the patristic writers, there were also a great many of them who were anti-rational or

enthusiasts (*Schwärmer*), who held mystical and millenarian vision. They emphasized the efficacy of “inner spirit” rather than God’s Word. According to them, revelation came not from the Bible or from spiritual ratiocination but from the illumination given to each man by God directly, speaking to him personally and privately.

The Ananda Marga is ambivalent in this respect, though, in the final analysis, its message is also anti-intellectual. While claiming that “the highest treasure of human beings . . . is their intellectual superiority,” Sarkar then distinguishes between a right intellect and one that “is not moving on the right path.” His final plea is “to please the Supreme Consciousness” through devotion. And thus he exhorts his disciples that “learning or knowledge or any other asset is not necessary except only two things — implicit faith and sincerity.”²¹ The instruments to inspire devotion are, as has been mentioned earlier, *sādhanā* and *kīrtana* (congregational prayer through ecstatic choral singing of divine glory accompanied by drums and cymbals and synchronized with rhythmic bodily movements), which help to concentrate physical and psychic powers with a view to “getting inspiration from *Parama Puruṣa*.”²² Sarkar’s preachings in this respect strongly resemble those of the Sahajiyā (Naturalist) tantrics of Bengal who believe that “the truth . . . can never be known by the scholars, — for, what comes within the scope of our mind, can never be the absolute truth.”²³ Like the Anabaptists who emphasized inner revelation, the Ananda Margis believe in *sādhanā*, teaching the devotees how to “dive into this wave of the Supreme.”²⁴

The great majority of the Anabaptists were poor and uneducated, but nearly everybody was convinced that the end of the world was at hand, that God was about to usher in the millennium or thousand-year rule of the saints predicted in the Book of Revelation, and that not Catholics, Calvinists, or Lutherans were God's chosen people, the chosen instruments of His inscrutable will. They thus courted torture and martyrdom armed with the belief that "suffering is the way, the door and the means to God." As one of them put it: "a Christian without suffering is like an untrained doctor." "Be not ashamed of us," cried Elizabeth Munsdrop, a Dutch Anabaptist martyr before her death. "It is . . . the narrow way which leads into eternal life, for there shall no other way be found by which to be saved."²⁵

A similar fiery determination informs the followers of the Ananda Marga, which is in fact a movement of the *menu peuple*. The leader of the Ananda Marga declared that "struggle is the essence of life. Those who abhor struggle, who misconstrue struggle as violence, have no place in the world." Thus a true *sādhaka* (spiritual adept) will be indifferent to obstacles, come what may, and be determined to "establish the heavenly kingdom in this world." As the *Supreme Expression* has it: "Soon the day will come when the moralists of the world are united. . . . That long-awaited day is now not too distant and with its advent, the dawn of a glorious new era . . . will be just around the corner . . ."²⁶ Indeed, as a popular weekly magazine of Bombay commented, "the Ananda Marga invites obstacles with a roar."²⁷ Armed with a conviction in their cause, several members of the

sect committed self-immolation in Patna and Delhi during 1973-4.²⁸

III

The Indian news media have been unduly critical of the practices of the Ananda Marga. For instance, the sect's ritual exercise of *tāṇḍava* involving hopping and stretching with skull and dagger has been dubbed "most frightful tantric rituals."²⁹ Brandishing skull and dagger might look fearful, but that is surely not the most frightful spectacle the Indians have ever seen. Moreover, it is common knowledge to most people familiar with tantric practices. There are numerous Hindu rituals such as the ceremonial sacrifice of animals or the ceremonial burning of a widow (currently practised by some people in spite of the law prohibiting *sati*) which, to the uninitiate and the unwary, may appear legitimately ghastly.³⁰ Actually the *tāṇḍava* might be no more than a physical and psychical exercise to keep the body fit and the mind fearless. As Sarkar has written, "the idea behind the . . . Tāṇḍava dance is an invariable truth: 'I must keep on fighting against destruction through struggle itself.' One hand holds a skull and the other a sword. The skull is the symbol for destruction, and the sword is the symbol of struggle."³¹ Indeed, in the classic tantric tradition, the Ananda Marga theology recognizes two important and popular Hindu gods: Śiva (the divine cosmic dancer) and Kṛṣṇa (equated with Viṣṇu). Śiva is both benevolent (*śivam*) and malevolent (*rudra*). Similarly, Kṛṣṇa, the mischievous cowboy of Braja (Kṛṣṇa's fabled childhood place) is an epitome of love (*prapatti*), while the astute Pārthasārathi

(Kṛṣṇa the charioteer of Prince Pārtha or Arjuna) of the *Mahābhārata* is a teacher of righteous struggle. Destruction and struggle are the two *leitmotifs* of the theology of Śiva and Kṛṣṇa preferred by Sarkar.³² Thus the Ananda Marga practices both the Śaiva *tāṇḍava* and the Vaiṣṇava *kīrtana* as part of their spiritual exercise.

The spectacle of the Marga's confessional, Review Detect Success session, between the *guru* and his delinquent disciples, in which the Ananda Murti (Sarkar's adopted spiritual appellation) was reportedly caning a nude middle-aged offender, may be "bizarre." But it may not be accurate to infer that "cries of agony" from the hapless culprit elicited a "glint of sadism" in the eyes of the chastiser.³³ One must bear in mind that every sect or cult has its own rituals having deep symbolic meanings which may baffle an outside observer. We read about the Christian flagellants of medieval Europe or see some Moslem sects in India who literally beat themselves to death during a particular religious procession. The Catholics of the Philippines ritually nail themselves to a cross on Good Friday to commemorate Christ's crucifixion and the spectacle has become a tourists' interest! There are scores of "bizarre" practices such as these which have been accepted and respected as religious.

The *Sunday* correspondent has almost mockingly referred to the *kīrtana* of the Ananda Marga: *bābā nāma kevalam*. Admittedly the word *bābā* might equally refer to God as well as to the Ananda Murti, whom his disciples call by that endearing name. As an Ananda Marga writer explains, "Baba means 'most beloved'" and "in general we may say that 'Baba Nama Kevalam' means 'love

is everywhere'."³⁴ Of course it is perfectly possible that the chant is intended to ritually sing the *guru*'s name. Nevertheless, similar practices obtain at the choral music of the Christians as well as in the gatherings of other Hindu prophets. The most famous and the most frenzied prayer song which this writer has personally witnessed is the Sai Bhajan chanted by the affluent and affable followers of the almost legendary and thaumaturgical prophet of modern India, the Sai Baba.

Yet it must be noted that no Margi actually worships his *bābā*, whereas devotees of other spiritual personalities, especially the followers of the above-mentioned Sai Baba, have little qualms in publicly worshipping him as a god. This writer has seen some people remove their deceased parents' photographs from the living room and hang impressive large color photographs of their preferred cult leaders. The second point to note is that the Ananda Murti appears to lead a perfectly moral life as contrasted with the leaders of several global spiritual organizations.³⁵ It is absolutely unfounded that the leader of the Ananda Marga is a homosexual who is in the habit of persuading his male recruits whom he desires that "they had been girls in previous lives."³⁶

The most noteworthy feature of the Ananda Marga movement has been its recent renown in respect of its theory of social cycles and of Progressive Utilization of Resources (Prout). The central theme of Proutism (announced since 1959) is maximum utilization of all resources — physical and psychological — in order to build a new global society that harmonizes technological and spiritual progress of mankind. Especially, Sarkar's theory of social cycles,

adumbrated in his *Mānuṣer Samāj*, has been utilized by the economist, Ravi Batra, in his sensational best-seller, *The Great Depression of 1990*. Admittedly, Sarkar's theory of human society and social cycles has little originality or historical validity, it being a restatement, with some adjustments, of the familiar Hindu cosmogonical calculations.³⁷ Nevertheless, its legitimization by Batra as a vehicle for explicating the current social and economic predicaments is provocative.³⁸ Its intellectual and historical bankruptcy notwithstanding, the thinking behind this theory and its sequel, the theory of Prout, illustrates some economic and ecological consciousness. In this era of wanton consumerism, the Marga's emphasis on maximum utilization must be welcomed as the right socio-economic creed, even though some critics, perhaps with some justification, have been skeptical about its viability.³⁹ However, an Ananda Margi claims that the Prout movement "is established in over 160 countries around the world and runs hundreds of schools, welfare centers and relief projects."⁴⁰

In any case, the social activities and services of the Marga must render this organization somewhat more useful than the amateurish and fashionable humanitarianism of some currently popular associations.⁴¹ Indeed, as one observer has commented: "whether one approves of the Ananda Marga or not, it has to be granted that its work among poor villagers in the State [West Bengal] has given it a large band of followers."⁴² Even though the Margis have developed an "ascetic alternative way of life" for themselves, their ethic and ethos can be transferred to a wider public and in that sense the sect possesses

the potentialities to be incorporated in the larger societal system.⁴³ In other words, the Ananda Marga can have a brighter future as did the Anabaptists following the leadership of Menno Simons in the second half of the sixteenth century and beyond.

It should also be noted that the teachings of the Ananda Marga do offer the possibility of divinity being shared by all equally. Sarkar once said: "Humanity in its fullest sense is Divinity."⁴⁴ Sarveswarananda of the Marga told the *Sunday* reporter: "To be very frank, we do not believe in the philosophy of godmen, because every individual is a manifestation of God."⁴⁵ What this statement implies is significant. In claiming that "every individual is a manifestation of God," it illustrates the quintessence of Hindu tantrism, even of Hinduism proper. This claim democratizes divine connection without keeping it reserved for select personalities within the sect. Admittedly, as will be discussed below, all this is theoretical, and is a far cry from the concepts of the *sadvipra* and the god-like *guru* so much underscored in Sarkar's sermons. However, theoretically at least, the spiritual similarity between the Anabaptists and the Ananda Margis — their concepts of *sadvipra* and the "saint" or "elect" — cannot be overlooked.

IV

There are several technical problems with the ideology and theology of the Ananda Marga. The *dharmarājya* or the holy commonwealth of the Ananda Marga will be founded by an army of dedicated lieutenants, whom Sarkar calls *sadvipras* ("spiritual revolutionaries"⁴⁶) — the "truly baptized" or the "true elect"

(in the jargon of the Anabaptists). And here the Ananda Murti's arguments, while resembling those of the Anabaptists, yet enter into a dilemma. While claiming that "the meaning of spiritual practice is to look upon every human being, every object of this universe as one integral unity," Sarkar unhesitatingly announces that the social and spiritual revolution will be carried out only by a disciplined elite of *sadvipras*, "who have a correct philosophy and a correct spiritual practice based on the principles of moralities," and who "are verily the greatest heroes" because they know what is best for society and live and die for ideology.⁴⁷ This is clearly a distinct, though distant, echo of Plato's rule of the philosopher-kings, the Anabaptists' world of the elect, or the modern Marxists' regime of the party members. Moral rigorism, worse, moral elitism, is one of the most disturbing elements of the Ananda Murti's otherwise sensible spiritualism.

Further, Sarkar (reportedly an initiated tantric since 1939) would like to invoke the efficacy of tantra which he defines, following the traditional tantric phraseology, as "the fundamental spiritual science" facilitating "the process of transforming animality or latent divinity into the Supreme Divinity."⁴⁸ But his tantrism seems to comprehend both Vaiṣṇava tantra with its emphasis on Kṛṣṇa and *kīrtana* and the Śaiva tantra with its *yoga*, *tāṇḍava*, and *sāḍhanā*. Like all tantrics, he also believes in the existence of a Supreme Consciousness or a *Parama Puruṣa* who could be reached through *sāḍhanā*. This heterodox tantrism is a bit of a muddle in that it absorbs the practices (*ācarā*) of two traditionally rival varieties of tantrics. Then, the *Parama Puruṣa* is reduced,

willy-nilly, to an actual human being who is god-like. First, Sarkar makes Śiva and Kṛṣṇa historical entities who were incarnations of the Supreme Consciousness — Śiva being *devātmanām devatā* ("God of gods") and the "embodiment of Supreme Consciousness,"⁴⁹ Kṛṣṇa having descended "from the universal body of the Supreme Entity."⁵⁰ The inevitable conclusion is that some super-human beings are incarnations of God. This conclusion is predicated upon the argument that people create gods out of those men on whom they depend in all respects. It is therefore natural that such personalities should be venerated as gods.⁵¹ Such a conclusion has worked wonderfully for Sarkar who is fervently believed by his disciples to be Siva or *Parama Puruṣa* incarnate, and who is thus called the very image of bliss — *Ānanda Mūrti*, and whose speeches are blissful ambrosia — *Ānanda Vāṇi* or *Ānanda Vachanāmṛtam*. The much publicized myth that "Shiva Himself invented the Tāṇḍava dance" together with the fact that Sarkar invented another useful dance, *Kaṣṭhikī*, to fight "twenty-two diseases" contributed immensely to his reputation as Śiva in another human form.⁵²

Interestingly enough, Sarkar himself has disavowed any divine connection and confessed: "I do not belong to heaven. What I am, I am to express this truth in a single sentence — I am yours."⁵³ Yet he has painstakingly elaborated a *raison d'être* of a *guru*. His preference for tantra appears to be inspired by his belief that its scriptures not only "describe qualities of an ideal guru" who is "self-controlled; . . . modest; soberly dressed; of exemplary conduct; well-established in society; pure in body and mind; adept in both spiritual theory

and spiritual practice; superbly intelligent," but also "the qualities of an ideal disciple: tranquil; modest and humble; of pure soul; having reverence; capable of receiving ideas clearly; competent and ever ready to carry out the guru's command."⁵⁴ This emphasis on the efficacy of *guruvāda* (doctrine of the *guru*) is typically tantric.⁵⁵ "Almost all the Caryā-songs [verses on practices of the Sahajiyās]," observes Professor Dasgupta, "speak highly of the Guru, who is the only help in the path of Sādhana."⁵⁶ Having proclaimed that "Brahma Himself is the Guru. There cannot be any special Guru,"⁵⁷ Sarkar then goes to the extent of claiming that "it is [God] . . . who is teaching you *sādhana* in the guise of *Guru*."⁵⁸

The Ananda Murti also appears to have approved of his biography which is a classic hagiography that eloquently describes his "divine" childhood and his various thaumaturgical skills.⁵⁹ His other devotees and admirers have called him "an intellectual giant" or "a renaissance man . . . much like Gary Snyder and Francis of Assisi," or Socrates, Marx, Tagore, Guevara, Martin Luther King, Aurobindo, Maslow, even Buddha and Christ!⁶⁰ Admittedly, the man never claimed divinity himself whereas many other spiritualists in India and abroad have announced themselves as self-styled gods.⁶¹ Yet, quietly and quite consciously, the Ananda Murti has allowed himself to be described as a super-human personality and thus his organization, like most other spiritual associations, has developed a personality cult around its leader.

Sarkar's principal weakness lies in his somewhat idiosyncratic and tendentious interpretation of the ancient history of Bengal and Hindu gods. He is

disarmingly candid about his conviction that Rhāḍ (corresponding to the area of present West Bengal) had existed eons before the birth of the Himalayas and that this region was the cradle of human civilization (*sabhyatār ādivindu*). While we need not belabor the fanciful geological account of Rhāḍ, it must be pointed out that the historians of ancient Bengal, who do posit the existence of a pre-Vedic neolithic culture in the area, would be horrified by Sarkar's claim for the centrality of Bengali culture in the history of human civilization. A judicious, though far from definitive, observation of experts has been that the Alpine race (*Homo Alpinus*), which "forms the main element in the composition of the present Bengalis, . . . possessed a higher degree of civilization."⁶²

Sarkar also provides a thunderous account of Śiva. Oblivious of the concept of the Vedic Rudra who became identified with the post-Vedic Śiva representing the abstract noumenon in the concrete world of transitory phenomena, he writes that Śiva was actually a human being called Sadāśiva (an appellation of Śiva favored by the Āgama tantrics of southern and eastern India and a popular masculine name in Bengal) who was born about 7000 years ago. He was also "the first person in the universe to marry." With a view to "removing the distinctions among the members of society," he took three wives — "Pārvatī, a fair-complexioned Aryan girl; Kālī, a dark-complexioned non-Aryan girl; and Gaṅgā, a yellow-complexioned Mongolian girl." Śiva and Pārvatī begat a son called Bhairava (actually another name of Śiva) who was "an ardent spiritualist, a Tantric *sādhaka*."⁶³ Śiva apparently visited Sarkar's imagined paradise of Rhāḍ to

spread Śaiva dharma.⁶⁴ This is a near perfect mockery and muck of history and commonsense!

Apart from this incredible wisdom purveyed with childlike naivete and nonchalance, Sarkar combines the two principal divisions of tantrism — Vaisnava and Śaiva or Śakta — the former in its typical Bengali Vaiṣṇava-Sahajiyā variety with its peculiar erotic mysticism and the latter with its esoteric spiritual exercises with a generous dose of the tantric metaphysical concept of a cosmic entity in order to concoct the elixir of his *Amṛta Vāṇi*. This strange theological recipe — rendered partly indigestible to ordinary folks who are the principal clients of the Ananda Marga and frankly dubious to educated individuals who have remained indifferent to these gospels — inevitably calls for some moderation and modification. Consequently, the concept of the abstract *Parama Puruṣa* has been reconciled with that of a personal god. And, for the consumption of English-speaking clients who need to be impressed, the English word “God” has been explicated in the following way:

The Supreme Entity, the Parama Purusa creates everything. He is the generator: the first letter of generator is G. He is the operator of everything: the first letter of operator is O. . . . He destroys, the first letter is D. G-O-D. The word is God.⁶⁵

Moreover, Sarkar seems to be a quintessential Bengali in that he has made Bengal the *ādivindu* of civilization and has preferred a name for Śiva popular and familiar in Bengal. At the same time, he would like to consider himself a world missionary while his Bengali mania might not be palatable to many

in India itself. In fact, in his anxiety to make his sermons intelligible to non-Bengalis as well as to non-Indians — the sermons are all generally conducted in Bengali or Hindi — he often uses English, even though he insists, rightly, that English is the language of a foreign culture.⁶⁶ However, the English translations are often written in obscure and turgid prose. Thus the word *ātman* (usually translated and understood as individual soul) is clumsily translated as “that which is omnitepathic.” Likewise, phrases such as “proto-spiritualistic systaltic movement,” “maximities,” “laterite” (meaning, “derived from books”), “circumrotarian universe,” “subjective approach objective adjustment,” “geosentiment,” “geo-religion” (meaning, “narrow parochial sentiment and religion”), “spiritual pabula,” or “macro-psyhic conation” are frequently and frivolously used in a number of treatises and speeches of the Ananda Murti.⁶⁷ It is not easy to stomach the Neo-Humanist philosophy of the Marga with its concern for “a direct link with the cosmological hub, a direct link with the existential nucleus of the cosmological order.”⁶⁸ Sarkar’s *Buddhir Mukti*, translated as “Liberation of the Intellect” might very well stand, occasionally, for “flight of the intellect!”

It is curious that in spite of his frankly tantric orientation, Sarkar has little to say about the tantric dualism of Śiva and Śakti, the male and female principles. In fact, his ethnic home, Bengal (though he was born and brought up as an adolescent in Bihar), has traditionally been considered an important center of the Śakta tantrics, practitioners of the Śakti cult (cult of the Mother Goddess). Yet, in typical tantric fashion, Sarkar speaks of the equality of men

and women and the urgency of the emancipation of women in society.⁶⁹ His innovative tantrism without due reference and deference to Śakti and his liberal concern for elevating the status of women in society at once reveal his essentially tantric emphasis on the equality of the sexes and his anxiety to dissociate his new spirituality from traditional tantric affiliation. While his personal bias for the history and culture of Bengal and his theology rooted in tantra lead him to exalt the position of women, his ambition to propagate a new religion prompts him to devalue the status of the Mother Goddess in favor of the male gods, Śiva and Kṛṣṇa. Thus he does not appear to share the tantrics' "genuine awe for the female as the seat of reproduction, the source of all life"; on the other hand, he posits a new thesis that "the role of Puruṣa is foremost in all spheres" and that "Prakṛti only acts whatever extent the Puruṣa has authorised or authorises her to act."⁷⁰ The outcome of this incongruity is that the theology of the Ananda Marga is neither authentic nor easily comprehensible.

V

There may be several reasons why the Ananda Marga zealots have not succeeded in enlisting the support of the middle and upper classes of Indian society, especially of West Bengal. The rather personalized theology and the rigorous spiritual life advocated by the Marga have kept it away from the mainstream of urban population. The average middle-class Indian has little interest in spiritualism *qua* spiritualism. He is naturally attracted to the prophets who preach the banalities palatable to

pragmatic pleasure-seekers. Then, even though the basic spiritual tenets of tantrism and Vaiṣṇavism have long coalesced with each other in Bengal since the sixteenth century, the amalgamation of Śākta *ācāra* and Vaiṣṇava *ācāra* prove confusing for the average Bengali who has traditionally held a clear distinction between the two modes of spirituality. In fact, even "the *Pāñcarātrins* — the followers of 'Tantric Vaiṣṇavism' — decline to be called Tantrics. . . ."⁷¹ Most importantly, tantra, in spite of its mysticism and magic to which many would like to take recourse for the sake of materializing their mundane ambitions, has remained largely an odious and esoteric cult. The reputation of the Ananda Margis that they preach "power through violence . . . mingled with ritual murder and mutilation"⁷² owes to their affiliation with Śiva and thus to the general odium that attaches to the alleged necrophilic and orgiastic practices of the Kāpālikas (Bearers of the Skull), a Śaiva tantric sect. Most probably the Ananda Margis are not Kāpālikas, but their tantra oriented spirituality contains within itself the germs of its undoing.

It should also be noted that the Marga's ideology is poised against communism as much as against capitalism. As one Ananda Marga writer summarizes Sarkar's Neo-Humanist economics, "in both capitalism and communism the basic tendency of subtler human propensities is towards the acquisition and enjoyment of matter. In capitalism psychic pabula is unchecked. . . . In communism, in the name of equal distribution, psychic pabula is suppressed."⁷³ Hence the Congress (I) Party at the center (supposed to be "capitalistic") as well as the Communist

Party of India (Marxist) in West Bengal are neither able to comprehend the Marga's concern for an ideal "psychic pabula" nor ready to put up with another ideology that threatens to become a mass movement. Any anticipated change in the status quo is likely to be resisted by the political establishment. The social activities of the Marga in the rural areas pose an especial threat to politicians whose success in election owes significantly to the timely loyalty of the common people.

Further, the sequestered headquarters of the Marga at Purulia — a border town between the states of West Bengal and Bihar — caused the sect great harassment and embarrassment in 1967 — the first large scale public outrage against it. The town of Purulia has traditionally been the focal point of social, political, and tribal tension between the locally powerful *kurmī māhātos* in the countryside and the comparatively affluent urban dwellers comprising mainly Bengalis and Marwaris. The Ananda Marga failed to mobilize the support of the *kurmīs* (even though Sarkar has regarded them as the ancestors of the Bengalis⁷⁴) and was even suspected as land grabbers when its members attempted to reclaim waste lands for productive agriculture. While an earlier and more prestigious religious organization like the Rāmakṛṣṇa Mission had alienated the countryside for similar reasons but was protected by the government, the Ananda Margis failed to secure protection from the establishment. Consequently they fell an easy victim to the wrath of the *kurmīs* in an unfortunate fracas in 1967 which, to add insult to injury, brought widespread notoriety for the sect.⁷⁵

Admittedly, the Ananda Marga *sannyāsins* are not a bunch of other

worldly stargazers. In a number of treatises such as *Abhimat, Idea and Ideology, Great Universe, Human Society, Problem of the Day*, and in numerous sermons, Sarkar unfailingly urges his followers to be aware of universal love, spiritual upliftment, and to prepare for a relentless endeavor to provide material comfort for all men and women of the world. As he advised, "it is unwise to leave the world, to leave service to humanity and to go to the Himalayas to attain the Supreme Consciousness." This universe itself is the Supreme Consciousness — where will you go by leaving it?"⁷⁶ This indeed is a sensible resolution of the problem of hyper-individual esoteric *sādhana* by "interweaving symbols of social content into the network of interiorized worship."⁷⁷ However, the Marga's ideology, laudable as it is, is nevertheless based partly on naivete and partly on utopian prescriptions. The idea of a world federation, the hope of blending technology with spirituality, the demand for a world language, and a global community culturally diverse and yet united by the bond of spirituality of a markedly Hindu variety — all this stuff of Proutism has rendered the Ananda Marga enthusiast someone who means well but who need not be taken seriously.

Perhaps it is true that the sect has a violent record: murder of defecting members, bomb attacks on Indian missions and stabbing of Indian diplomats abroad, self-immolation, and the like. It may be equally true that this connection with violence alienated public sympathy for the organization. And it is quite in fitness of things that the Indian authorities must at all costs do their best to prevent the recurrence of murder and mayhem. It must, however,

be noted that the Marga's violence, if any, was always provoked by attacks or interference from outside. All the episodes beginning from 1967 tell the same story. The debacle of the Marga from the late sixties to the early eighties is indeed regrettable. It is an irony that the Marxist regime of West Bengal, purportedly a government of the common people — peasants and urban workers — has chosen to smother another mass movement. The "religion" of communism appears to be intolerant of any other evangelical enterprise.

The Ananda Margis have been brutalized on a wildly, though cunningly, contrived charge, that of child-lifting. It is well known that the very word *chheledharā* ("childlifter") has particular despicability about it in the folkmind of Bengal. It can generate a neurosis of fear and fury in the mind of a gullible people naturally prone to violence. As evidence for this there is the report from Calcutta and Midnapur on how three people including a woman and a beggar suspected to be childlifters were beaten to death by the people, even though the Commissioner of Police in Calcutta later stated that "not a single case of child-lifting had so far been registered in Calcutta."⁷⁸ Actually, as a stereotype, a childlifter becomes "an abstract, super-humanised or dehumanised construction which is made to replace a real person and which therefore qualifies for special treatment." This is how the European "witches" were stereotyped in the notorious *Malleus Maleficarum*, originally a work of the fifteenth century, which had run into twenty-nine editions by the seventeenth to become instrumental of the witch craze resulting in mass murder and torture of heretics or deviants as witches.⁷⁹

Like the early modern European witch the member of the Ananda Marga has become a dehumanized stereotype which it is easy to persecute.

VI

Even though the Ananda Marga theology contains little original thinking of its propounder, the organization certainly comprises a band of dedicated humanists who are convinced of the oneness of the universe, concerned for the welfare of all, and aware of the need to progress materially as well as spiritually. Disrespectful of any dogma ("... dogma goes against the fundamental spirit of the human mind"),⁸⁰ the sect is grimly determined to fight its way against all odds — internal ("the devil of their own weaknesses and defects") as well as external ("to curb the onslaughts of the immoralists").⁸¹ Convinced that "the dawn of a glorious new era ... will be just around the corner," the spiritual soldiers of the Ananda Marga relentlessly pursue their program: "‘Caraeveti, caraeveti’, or ‘March ahead, march ahead’, is the only Mantra in the path of movement."⁸² The goal of their movement is the establishment of a reign of righteousness (*dharmarājya*) — a spiritual kingdom under the supreme command of the *sadvipras*, those apostles of the possible — much like the New Jerusalem of the Anabaptists.

In spite of his rather Panglossian optimism ("I am an incorrigible optimist, for I know that optimism is the very essence of life"),⁸³ the Ananda Murti's vision of a brave new world need not be dismissed as an unrealizable utopia. Modern technological man has no doubt demonstrated his capacity for making

scientific plans, projections, and calculations, but he has lost his vision in the process. We need a vision, an ideal, and however impracticable it might seem for the immediate present, an ideal always needs to be nurtured. Bred in the crass consumerist culture of our time we have successfully developed what a Harvard sociologist has called "transaction mentality" and neglected fostering "endowment mentality" — the mentality that prepares an individual to give rather than to gather.⁸⁴ "Ours is not an age of faith, nor is it an age of disbelief," Nicola Chiaromonte wrote. "It is an age of bad faith, of beliefs . . .

which are maintained in the absence of genuine convictions."⁸⁵ In this wayward world enchanted by the magic of the marketplace and sick with an apparently incurable political neurosis, it is refreshing to hear the visionary of the Path of Bliss proclaim:

... the future of the human race is not dark, rather it is resplendent. So proceed on, ignoring the frown of darkness.⁸⁶

The sixteenth-century Anabaptists held a similar vision which has not lost its appeal to this day.

NOTES

¹ Ashok Mitra, *Calcutta Diary* (Calcutta: Rupa & Co., 1979) 99.

² See Peter Brent, *Godmen of India* (London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1972).

³ *The Statesman Weekly* (May 8, 1982).

⁴ The best scholarly study of tantrism is Sanjukta Gupta et al., *Hindu Tantrism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979). Also see Heinrich Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, ed. Joseph Campbell (Princeton: Princeton U P, 1971) 560-602; André Padoux, "Tantrism," *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1987) 272-80.

⁵ Bryan R. Wilson, *Religious sects: A Sociological Study* (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1970) 28-35.

⁶ Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Culture and Personality* (New York: Random House, 1961).

⁷ William J. Bouwsma, "Anxiety and the Formation of Early Modern Culture," Barbara C. Malament, ed. *After the Reformation: Essays in Honor of J.H. Hexter* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1980) 215-46.

⁸ The debasement of traditional Indian culture is called *apasanskrti* by P.R. Sarkar, *Buddhir Mukti: Navyamānavatāvād* (Calcutta: Ananda Marga Pracaraka Samgha, 1982) 59.

⁹ *Sunday* (May 16-22, 1982) 26. Also see P. R. Sarkar, *Problem of the Day*, Nardeva Gupta (Purulia: Ananda Marga Pracaraka Samgha, 1968); Sugatananda Avadhuta, *Sambhavami* (Calcutta: Sevadharm Mission, 1985) 41-3.

¹⁰ Wilson, *Religious Sects* 118-19.

¹¹ "On Mennonite Historiography and on Individualism and Brotherhood," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 18.2 (1944): 121.

¹² *The Thoughts of P.R. Sarkar*, ed. Avadhutika Anandamitra Acarya (Calcutta: Ananda Marga Pracaraka Samgha, 1985) 162.

¹³ Walter K. Anderson & Sridhar D. Damle, *The Brotherhood in Saffron: The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Hindu Revivalism* (New Delhi: Vistar Publications, 1987) 13; Raymond Williams, *A New Face of Hinduism: The Swaminarayan Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1984).

- ¹⁴ Anderson & Damle, *Brotherhood in Saffron* 14.
- ¹⁵ *Buddhir Mukti* 24-5. Also see Shrii Shrii Ānandamūrti, *Namah Shivāya Shāntāya*, trans. Acarya Vijayananda Avadhuta et al., 2nd ed. (Calcutta: Ananda Marga Pracaraka Samgha, 1985) 170-1.
- ¹⁶ P.R. Sarkar, *Light Comes*, eds. Avadhutika Anandamitra Acarya & Acarya Vijayananda Avadhuta (Calcutta: Ananda Marga Publications, 1986) 27.
- ¹⁷ *Namah Shivāya Shāntāya* 165-6.
- ¹⁸ *Thoughts of Sarkar* 17.
- ¹⁹ Ibid. 130.
- ²⁰ Ibid. 132.
- ²¹ Ibid. 68, 72-3.
- ²² *Light Comes* 155.
- ²³ Cited in Sashibhusan Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, 2nd ed. (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1962) 53.
- ²⁴ *Thoughts of Sarkar* 31.
- ²⁵ Cited in Hans J. Hillerbrand, ed. *The Protestant Reformation* (New York: Wolk & Co., 1969) 148.
- ²⁶ *Thoughts of Sarkar* 84-5, 203.
- ²⁷ Cited in *Sambhavāmi* 51. My translation.
- ²⁸ Ibid. 66-8.
- ²⁹ *Sunday* 29.
- ³⁰ The news of the self-immolation of a Hindu widow in Rajasthan on September 4, 1987 and the instant transformation of the deceased into a *devī* (goddess) is too familiar to document.
- ³¹ *Light Comes* 148.
- ³² *Namah Shivāya Shāntāya*; Shrii Shrii Ānandamūrti, *Namāmi Kṛṣṇasundaram*, trans. Acarya Vijayananda Avadhuta (Purulia: Ananda Marga Pracaraka Samgha, 1981).
- ³³ *Sunday* 29.
- ³⁴ *Sambhavāmi* 44; Mantreshvarananda Avadhuta & Jayanta Kumar, *Spirituality and Society* (Calcutta: Proutist Universal Publications, 1987) 7.
- ³⁵ Some wealthy and widely publicized spiritual organizations have reportedly been guilty of sexual excesses and financial fraud. See the report on the Hare Krishna Temple at Mayapur, West Bengal in *Ālokpāt* (July 1986). For similar report on the Rajaneesh sect see Hugh Milne, *Bhagwan: The God that Failed* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986). The best account of Sai Baba's fraudulent practices remains Abraham Koor, *Begone Godmen! Encounters with Spiritual Frauds* (1976. Fourth impression. Bombay: Jaico Publishing House, 1984). The recent scandal concerning the moral life of the American televangelist Jim Bakker is well known.
- ³⁶ Vidyudhar S. Naipaul, *India: A Wounded Civilization* (New York: Vintage Press, 1977) 62. It should be noted, however, that "one Tantric sect believed that the male-devotee, to complete himself, must think of himself as a woman." Aubrey Menen, *The Mystics* (New York: The Dial Press, 1974) 92.
- ³⁷ P.R. Sarkar, *Human Society [Mānuṣer Samāj]*, Part II (Anandanagar: Proutist Universal, 1967). For a brief but useful explanation of the Hindu cosmology, especially the Hindu concept of the cosmic time see H. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, ed. J. Campbell (New York: Pantheon Books, 1963) 11-19. Also see Frederick E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (London: Oxford UP, 1922) 175-9.
- ³⁸ R. Batra, *The Great Depression of 1990*, rev. ed. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987) ch. 2.

- Batra's uncritical reliance on Sarkar's theory of social cycles and its artificial application to Western history constitute a fundamental weakness of his book.
- 39 J. R. Williams, Review of "R. Batra, *Prout: The Alternative to Capitalism and Marxism* (Boston: U Press of America, 1980)" in *Religious Studies Review* 9 (April 1983): 157.
 - 40 J. Kumar, ed. *New Aspects of Prout* (Calcutta: Proutist Universal Publications, 1987), "Introduction."
 - 41 For an amazing account of the ridiculous activities of the Kerista Church of California see Shiva Naipaul, *Journey to Nowhere* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981) ch. 8.
 - 42 *The Statesman Weekly* (May 22, 1982) 10: "Letter to the Editor."
 - 43 B.R. Wilson, *Contemporary Transformations of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1979) 110-11.
 - 44 *Light Comes* 1.
 - 45 *Sunday* 26.
 - 46 *Thoughts of Sarkar* 156.
 - 47 Ibid. 96-7, 159, 161.
 - 48 Ibid. 25-6. Also see *Sambhavāmi* 30.
 - 49 *Namah Shivāya Shāntāya* 37, 205.
 - 50 *Namāmi Kṛṣṇasundaram* 225.
 - 51 *Namah Shivāya Shāntāya* 41.
 - 52 *Light Comes* 148-9.
 - 53 *Thoughts of Sarkar* 53.
 - 54 *Light Comes* 79-80.
 - 55 See Dark J. Hoens, "Transmission and Fundamental Constituents of the Practice," *Hindu Tantrism* 74-80.
 - 56 *Obscure Religious Cults* 88.
 - 57 *Light Comes* 78.
 - 58 *Thoughts of Sarkar* 75.
 - 59 *Sambhavāmi* 22-4, 30-6, 39-40, 44, 105-12.
 - 60 Batra, *Prout* 202; Shyam Sundar, "P.R. Sarkar — A Champion of Humanity," *Prout Newsletter* (undated): 9-11.
 - 61 In the West one hears of the Dutch fisherman, Louwrens van Voorthuzien, the French post inspector, Georges Roux, or the Black American leader of the Father Divine Peace Mission, George Baker, who all claimed at one time or another that they were god.
 - 62 P.R. Sarkar, *Sabhyatār Ādivindu: Rhad*, 2nd ed. (Calcutta: Ananda Marga Pracaraka Samgha, 1982); Ramesh C. Majumdar, *History of Ancient Bengal*, rpt. (Calcutta: G. Bharadwaj & Co., 1974) 22. Also see Samaren Roy, *The Roots of Bengali Culture* (Calcutta: Eureka Publishers, 1966); J. C. Ghosh, *Bengali Literature* (London: Oxford UP, 1948).
 - 63 *Namah Shivāya Shāntāya* 7-8, 47, 233. For a better and infinitely more accurate understanding of Śiva see Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols*, ch. 4; Stella Kramrisch, "Śiva" and David Lorenzen, "Śaivism," *Encyclopedia of Religion* 13: 7-11, 333-41. Also see the highly original interpretation of Śiva's evolution as the God of gods in Nirad C. Chaudhuri, *Hinduism: A Religion to Live By* (New York: Oxford UP, 1979) 239-41.
 - 64 *Sabhyatār Ādivindu* 6.
 - 65 *Light Comes* 28.
 - 66 *Buddhir Mukti* 49 ff; *Sabhyatar Adivindu*; P.R. Sarkar, *Manuser Samaj* 1 (Purulia: Ananda Marga Pracaraka Samgha, 1968).

- ⁶⁷ P.R. Sarkar, *Ananda Sutram*, rev. ed. (Calcutta: Ananda Marga Pracaraka Samgha, 1984) 1; *Buddhir Mukti* 1, 13, 65, 74, 95, 105. Also see *Thoughts of Sarkar* and *Light Comes*, passim. In this connection, we must note that Sarkar often manufactures Sanskrit words out of pure Bengali. The most notorious examples of such linguistic fraud are: "ājibanang bhātkāparang swāhā" (*Sabhyatār Ādivindu* 25) and "shittkāle bhavedusna etc." (*Namah Shivāya Shāntāya*, 47). The two Bengali words in italics mean "food and clothing" and "during winter."
- ⁶⁸ *Buddhir Mukti* 109-10.
- ⁶⁹ See the chapter titled "Sāmājik Subichār" ("Social Justice") in *Mānuser Samāj* i: 43-57; "Tattvika Praveshika" in *Thoughts of Sarkar* 195. Sarkar's suggestions for "establishing women's rights and dignity" in his ideal society may be found in Prout Writers Group, *Spiritual Vision of Society* (Manila: Universal Service Prout, 1986) 29-30.
- ⁷⁰ *Hindu Tantrism* 34. Also see 33, 154 ff; *Ananda Sutram* 3.
- ⁷¹ Teun Goudriaan, "Introduction, History and Philosophy," *Hindu Tantrism* 9. For the tantric influence on Vaisnavism see Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults* 127-30.
- ⁷² Naipaul, *India* 62.
- ⁷³ Kumar, ed. *Prout* 15-16.
- ⁷⁴ *Sabhyatār Ādivindu* 24.
- ⁷⁵ Personal interview with Mr. Partha Chaudhuri, I.A.S. (Deputy Commissioner of Purulia in 1969), now Chairman, Calcutta Improvement Trust, on September 14, 1987.
- ⁷⁶ *Thoughts of Sarkar* 67.
- ⁷⁷ Goudriaan "Introduction," *Hindu Tantrism* 29.
- ⁷⁸ *The Statesman Weekly* (May 8, 1982) 7.
- ⁷⁹ Hugh Trevor-Roper, "Witch Hunting," *The Sunday Times* (March 2, 1975): 38.
- ⁸⁰ *Thoughts of Sarkar* 104.
- ⁸¹ *Ibid.* 85, 143-4.
- ⁸² *Namāmi Kṛṣṇasundaram* 126. Also see *Light Comes*, 101: "The aim of the Ananda Margis is to conquer the Universal Mind. To achieve that, they will have to acquire the qualities of soldiers."
- ⁸³ *Light Comes* 241.
- ⁸⁴ David Riesman cited in *Time* (May 25, 1987): 15.
- ⁸⁵ *The Paradox of History: Stendhal, Tolstoy, Pasternak and Others* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, n.d.) 133.
- ⁸⁶ *Thoughts of Sarkar* 214.

APPENDIX

Excerpts from the writings of the Anabaptists and the Ananda Margis

"Everyone should properly receive according to his need. Any prince, count, or lord who refuses to do this even when seriously warned should be hanged or have his head chopped off."

Thomas Muntzer cited in Peter Blickle, *The Revolution of 1525*, tr. Thomas A. Brady & H. C. Erik Midefort (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), p. 148.

"... God from the beginning ordained nought private for man, but all things in common."

Peter Riedmann, Hutterite from Moravia cited in *The Protestant Reformation*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York: Wolk & Co., 1969), p. 144.

"Every atom of this universe is the joint property of all the living beings. This has to be adopted as a matter of policy."

P.R. Sarkar, *Problem of the Day* (1959. Third edn. Purulia: Ananda Marga Pracaraka Samgha, 1968), p. 24.

"All properties of this earth movable as well as immovable do not belong to any particular individual but everything is the patrimony of all of us and we all have Brahma as our father."

Ibid., pp. 1-2.

"You will soon rend the thick darkness of despair on the way to the attainment of the Supreme State and advance onwards in the swift-moving chariot, radiant with the sun's brilliance."

P.R. Sarkar cited in *Thoughts of P.R. Sarkar*, ed. Avadhutika Anandamitra Acarya (1981. Second printing. Calcutta: Ananda Marga Publications, 1985), p. 108.

The Post-War Rootless Generation in Three Contemporary Japanese Plays

Kwok-kan Tam

(譚國根)

When it is no longer possible to accept complete closed systems of values and revelations of divine purpose, life must be faced in its ultimate, stark reality. . . . We have always seen man stripped of the accidental circumstances of social position or historical context, confronted with the basic choices, the basic situations of his existence.

— Martin Esslin

Martin Esslin may not have the Japanese theater on mind in his discussion of the Theater of the Absurd, but to a considerable extent, the three contemporary Japanese plays, Abe Kōbō's 安部公房 *You, Too, Are Guilty* お前にも罪がある, Yamazaki Masakazu's 山崎正和 *The Boat is a Sailboat* 舟は帆船よ, and Akimoto Matsuya's 秋元松代 *Kaison, the Priest of Hitachi* 常陸坊海尊 are all concerned with what he describes as the basic situations of human existence. On the surface, all three plays are different in their mode of dramatic presentation: both *You, Too, Are Guilty* and *The Boat is a Sailboat* are in line with the Theater of the Absurd in the West, whereas *Kaison, the Priest of Hitachi* is presented in a realistic mood and is blended with traditional Japanese mythical elements. Yet, underneath, they share a number of thematic similarities in their treatment of the

post-war life in Japan.

The first two plays, *You, Too, Are Guilty* and *The Boat is a Sailboat* are set in a modern apartment, which is so ordinary that it may represent any apartment building in Japan. Similar to Harold Pinter's plays, the apartment in the two plays is meant to bear a sense of universality through its ordinariness. The apartment may also metaphorically signify the human predicament in modern life.

In *You, Too, Are Guilty*, the audience is presented with the story of how a man reacts to an absurd situation in life. It can be called a one-man play, for the whole plot centers around the protagonist's reaction to the corpse and the argument between his split self. The Man, the protagonist of the play, is an isolated soul in a large city. The fact that he is not referred to with any particular name, but just the Man,

is evident enough of his minimally reduced individual significance. This sense of isolation and insignificance is strongly suggested through the symbolic apartment. Actually, none of the characters in the play has names. This may well serve as another kind of technique which functions to universalize the significance of the play. *You, Too, Are Guilty* begins in a peculiar situation with a couple living nearby bringing a corpse into the Man's apartment. The actual drama, however, comes at the moment the Man returns home and in his subsequent reaction to the corpse. Faced with the corpse, the Man is at first at a loss as to what appropriate action he should take. He first tries to reason from the vantage point of a police detective. Contrary to the usual legal practice of assuming the suspect's innocence when he cannot be proved to be guilty, the imagined police detective starts out by assuming that the Man is guilty and then forces the Man to prove himself innocent. The imagined police detective is in fact the other self of the Man. The dialogue between the Man and the imagined police detective reveals the Man's hidden inner sense of guilt. The Man is tormented by his fear of being guilty, although he knows that he is innocent. From the viewpoint of the police detective, the Man next shifts to that of the Dead Body. In the course of his argument with the Dead Body, he gradually identifies himself with the murderer, who has never appeared in the play. What he does then is to protect himself by messing up the evidence. In this way, the Man becomes involved in the crime. As the Woman, another character, metaphorically says, "It's like making a parachute jump" (Abe, 35),

once the Man is involved in the crime there is no way he can stop. At the end of the play the corpse is removed from the apartment by the same couple without giving any reason, making the scene more absurd. If this is not going to be treated as a realistic play, what the audience has to ask is not the rationale behind such bizarre happenings, but the symbolic significance of its surface weirdness. The absurdity is based on and can only be explained by the lack of order and reason in contemporary life.

What is interesting in the play is not whether the murder is discovered or not, but the split psyche of the Man and the sense of sin inherent in him. A number of other things, which are of tremendously important thematic significance, can also be found in the play: the Man's principle of non-involvement, or self-centeredness, the Dead Body's idea of social memory as a kind of insurance, the Man's confusion of his own identity, and his lack of confidence.

As can be seen in the play, the Man is a person of non-involvement. In his argument with the Dead Body, he says,

At this point, I don't intend to become your sacrificial victim, . . . I've always kept out of all union activities no matter how they urged me. . . . I've always refused to sign all petitions though I may have been in favor of some. . . . And I've always made it a point to tag behind, when I've had to join in demonstrations . . . so I wouldn't be noticed at all. Besides, even if I put up a big fuss, how could that influence world affairs? . . . But despite all that effort. . . . Now, I have to sacrifice myself for a corpse who's a total stranger. . . . (Abe, 24)

It is this idea of non-involvement and non-commitment that puts the Man more and more in trouble. First, because of his non-involvement in society, he has cut himself off from all social ties and, thus, when questioned by the imagined police detective, he cannot prove his innocence through his activities in society, or his interaction with other people. In short, like the Dead Body, the Man has no one to back him up in time of crisis. To have friends, or to be involved in social activities is a kind of social insurance for a modern man. This idea of social insurance through one's interaction with other people in society is later discussed in greater detail by the Dead Body. The conversation between the Man and the Dead Body reveals so much about life in contemporary Japanese society, in which the significance of individual existence is so absurdly and minimally reduced that an individual can only be counted in terms of his social connections. Second, it is his principle of non-involvement that makes him try to avoid being involved in the crime. But the more he does so, the more he is involved in it.

In one sense, the Man stands for numerous such urban dwellers who are isolated from each other and are in a rootless situation in society. Social rootlessness and alienation are two of the important themes presented in the play. The Dead Body says,

Indeed, social living itself is the premium for this kind of memory after you are dead. . . . Does not this tacit understanding account for the utmost mutual respect shown to nationality, status, date of birth, name, etc. — all signs meant for others to recognize? Therefore, the preservation

of Memory Insurance should be the collective responsibility of every individual as long as he is alive. And the task of redeeming the payments on behalf of the dead is a sacred duty that no living person can evade.

(Abe, 25)

On the other hand, the Dead Body's speech can also be read as a ridicule of contemporary life and social conventions. Nationality, name and status no longer represent individual qualities, but serve merely as a label for an individual person lost in an ocean of others. A modern man has no individuality, like the apartment which he lives in and which, unfortunately and ironically, is the same as all the others in the same building and can be opened by the same key. The Man's fear, as well as his subsequent reaction to the corpse, is a sign of his inner sense of insecurity. It is this sense of fear and insecurity which prompts him to act in a selfish way, trying to cover up the murder. The blood stain on the *tatami* is a metaphor for guilt in the Man. As he himself says, "That won't help. Unless we wipe away all those blood stains, the whole carpet will become a giant stain" (Abe, 30). Even if the crime were covered up, the would still feel guilty and the whole case would become "a giant stain" like the one on the carpet. Obviously, the play is not about murder, but about the psyche of the modern man facing crisis. The Dead Body complains,

I'm about to get killed for the second time. . . . First, it was my physical death, and now within the hearts of living men. . . . How can the law be so lopsided? It only punishes killers who are charged with physical death and winks at the second kind of murder.

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... But, in fact, the second kind of murder is far more terrifying.

(Abe, 23)

In the second kind of murder, it is not just the physical body of a man that is killed, but also the feeling within the living men. In view of this, the Man is also guilty, not because he has killed anybody or not, but because he is selfish and his guilt lies in his doing injustice to the Dead Body.

Abe Kōbō's *You, Too, Are Guilty* is one of the best plays in contemporary Japanese drama, although the author is better known as a novelist. It addresses questions of identity and individuality by using dramatic techniques of the Theater of the Absurd. Besides the *tatami*, there is nothing in the play which is particularly Japanese. Like Abe's other works, *You, Too, Are Guilty* is concerned with general problems of the modern world rather than with those of Japan. With respect to technique and its place in modern Japanese drama, the play can be considered a development toward the absurd basing on the weird and bizarre in traditional Japanese drama.

The Boat is a Sailboat is, comparatively speaking, not so much an absurd play in technique as *You, Too, Are Guilty*. In this play, the problems of the post-war Japanese generation are more specifically dealt with. The absent character, Murai, appears as a mysterious figure throughout the play. All the other characters are in one way or another related to him. As Tatsuno, the protagonist, remarks, "By an odd coincidence, everyone here was involved with Mr. Murai" (Yamazaki, 108). Murai is actually the personification of the post-war general in Japan. They are rootless and can never commit themselves

to anything serious. Tatsuno is "a kind person ... kind to everybody ... just like ... the apartment he is accommodating ... raise no problems," but he lacks "human warmth" (Yamazaki, 152). He is a cynical person. Satomi says that he "treats everyone kindly but he seems to be mocking them" (Yamazaki, 162).

As the play develops, Tatsuno is falling into the same situation as Murai's. His action of replacing the picture, updating the calendar and putting all the nails in their original positions is symbolic of the replacement of Murai. Although Tatsuno is unconscious of his situation, all the other characters gradually take him to be Murai. First, the cleaner brings him Murai's suit and asks him to take care of it. Second, Nishiki asks Tatsuno to help him talk to the director of the museum about the Buddha statue. Finally, Shima deliberately replaces Murai with him. However, as for Tatsuno himself, he thinks that he is the least related to Murai. He is under the false belief that he is looking for Murai for the sake of other people. But from the words of Yumi, the audience knows that Tatsuno has gradually become personally interested in Murai (Yamazaki, 162). The intuition of the young girl Yumi points to the fact that Tatsuno resembles Murai in a number of ways: they were born in the same year, suggesting that they are of the same generation, and both of them like to move so often and from one place to another. "They are cheerful, sociable, a bit talkative, and have no strong attachment to their personal possessions" (Yamazaki, 162). Up to this point, Tatsuno still believes that he is different from Murai in that Murai has a strong attachment to his birth place and property in his hometown,

which is later revealed to be merely a lie. As Tatsuno says, he himself is a man without root:

Unfortunately for me, I don't have one [hometown] — anywhere. The house where I was born happened to be in town and burned down completely during the war. The temple, the school, the town office, and even my birth certificate were destroyed. . . . And the town I remember is entirely gone. The street names and the house numbers have changed. And . . . even the name of the town itself has disappeared. (Yamazaki, 163)

Satomi thinks that Tatsuno cannot get interested in anything important in life, but if it's something trivial, he develops "a mad curiosity" (Yamazaki, 166). He regards Tatsuno's attitudes as "a secret anxiety over rootless existence" (Yamazaki, 166). Tatsuno, like Murai, or the Man in *You, Too, Are Guilty*, is a man of non-commitment and rootlessness.

In this play, the author also makes use of the device of an apartment, which has become a label for the person who lives in it. Having no individuality and being rootless, men's identities are taken by others as inter-changeable and are easily confused. Like a hole in the beehive by which a bee is to be recognized of its social place and degree of importance, the apartment in the play functions as a social role which the person accommodating is supposed to play. Just because Tatsuno has moved to Murai's apartment, Tatsuno is treated by all the other characters as another Murai. In fact, the point is not whether it is Tatsuno or another person who has moved into the apartment. Even if it were another, the people would still take him for Murai. Towards the

end of the play when a man is about to rent the vacant apartment, Nishiki says:

THE MAN: Hello. Ah, I believe this apartment is vacant. Can I take a look?

NISHIKI (glaring at him): No, it's not for rent. Mr. Murai lives here.

THE MAN: That's strange. I was told it would be vacant this month.

NISHIKI: There is no mistake. Mr. Murai will always be living here. As long as this apartment is located on this spot. (Yamazaki, 201)

The other people are responsible for confusing Tatsuno's identity, for they themselves are all confused about it. At the end of the play, even Satomi seems not to be quite sure of Tatsuno's identity when he says that a criminal suspect has a marked resemblance with Tatsuno.

As for the other major characters in the play, they are equally rootless. Nishiki has to rely on the museum exhibits to prove and assure himself of his existence. He knows that he is nothing but a specialist in "that" museum. Thus he has to cling onto Murai or Tatsuno for moral support. Nishiki's cowardice in the past has been haunting him for over twenty-five years. He needs to be involved in something to prove his courage, integrity, and existence. As he remembers, Murai once told him that Murai envied him: "He [Murai] said he envied me because I had something which I could get involved in. He said he was sorry he was of the postwar generation and had nothing like that at all" (Yamazaki, 186). Ironically, early in the play when Nishiki tells Tatsuno his story, Tatsuno also says that he envies Nishiki. Nishiki's

involvement with the Buddha statue is the only possible redemption for him. Comparing himself to Tatsuno, he says, "Thanks to your cowardly behavior, this Nishiki Heigo won't have to feel ashamed anymore. Now I've fully redeemed myself before my old comrade who committed suicide so gallantly — long ago" (Yamazaki, 186).

Shima is a girl who also needs something that can involve her. She is caught in the dilemma of choice, as she puts it: "Maybe I'm different. I can actually know them individually for what they really are. Since this always happens, how can I ever settle for a particular person? For me, to understand means I can no longer make a definite choice" (Yamazaki, 175). In other words, Shima is also falling into the same situation of non-commitment, though she is rootless in a different way. Shima's problem lies in her growth as she notes:

I was never challenged, and everyone waited for me to make decisions. When such freedom is forced upon a girl of twelve or thirteen, what kind of self-determination can you expect her to develop? No one had any authority over me, and I had no chance to rebel. And since there was no need to, I never developed a personality bent on asserting itself. (Yamazaki, 176)

Shima is living in a world too complicated for her to cope with. She complains: "Sometimes I've thought how easy it would be, if like the old days, you were simply handed over to your husband by your parents. You didn't have to think about yourself at all" (Yamazaki, 176). Her relationship with Tatsuno is exactly the same as that with Murai because, as pointed out by Tatsuno, Murai did not expect her

to love him and would not take her against her will. She is the one who knows most about Murai. When she has put Tatsuno in Murai's role, she knows that this time she should not press Tatsuno for a serious relationship. Tatsuno actually has a chance to redeem himself, if Shima does not finally fail him.

The idea of social memory as a kind of insurance is echoed in this play. Shima's failure in her relationship with Murai, according to her confession, is because of the lack of this kind of insurance: "Come to think of it, from the very beginning our relationship was like a telephone conversation. Murai was definitely right before my eyes, but we have no witness. We had no mutual friends, and I never mentioned him to anyone. And now I'm not quite sure that he ever existed in this world" (Yamazaki, 180). Without social memory as insurance, their relationship existed only in vacuum. Maybe this is one of the social causes of her rootless existence.

All three major characters in this play are alienated from the world they live in. Both Tatsuno and Shima fail to redeem themselves at the end of the play. In one sense, Nishiki also fails as he is not going to work in the museum, which has become the only ground for him to stand on. His confrontation with the museum director redeems him from his past cowardice, but makes him lose the job — lose the contact with the museum, which has become his "root." He wins the battle, but loses the war. At the end of the play, he is still waiting for Murai, his "Godot" for salvation.

The title of the play, *The Boat is a Sailboat*, is a metaphor for the rootless existence of the characters, or to be

more appropriate, modern *mān*. Murai, or Tatsuno, is the personification of the post-war Japanese generation, which is like a sailboat with no definite direction and attachment. Both Shima and Nishiki are drowning people who try to cling to it for salvation.

Although the subjects *You, Too, Are Guilty* and *The Boat is a Sailboat* deal with are different, the two plays are similar in many respects. Both have a number of formal elements of the Theater of the Absurd and are both about the social rootlessness of modern life in Japan. However, the third play *Kaison, the Priest of Hitachi* is entirely different from the other two in terms of its mode of presentation. While the other two plays are absurdist in form, *Kaison, the Priest of Hitachi* is a realistic one, and the scope of its subject-matter is much wider too. Through the two boys, Keita and Yutaka, the audience is presented with the problems of the whole generation of the post-war Japanese. Instead of dealing with a slice of life as what has been done in the first two plays, *Kaison, the Priest of Hitachi* provides a complete picture of what was happening in Japan from the war time to the 1960s.

The two characters, Keita and Yutaka, are rootless persons. Similar to Tatsuno, their homes were also burnt down during the war. They are orphans like many other children in the war period. Because their parents and most relatives are dead, they are physically cut off from their family, or ancestral root. Spiritually and culturally, the two boys are also cut off from the traditional system of values of being loyal to the emperor and to the country. The "Japanese spirit" imposed by the teacher on the children does not seem to have so much

effect on them as their spiritual attachment of their lost parents. Therefore, after they say "Long live the Emperor!" they say "Goodnight Mother! Goodnight Father!" (Akimoto, 274) What appeals more to the children is their parental ties. For Keita, it is for the search of his parents and for listening to the supposed spirit of his mother that he stays with the old woman:

OLD WOMAN [as the spirit of Keita's mother]: Whenever you want to see me, you just tell the old woman. She'll love you in Mommy's place. Remember, you must never leave her, not ever.

KEITA: I'll remember.

(Akimoto, 286)

Only in the shrine and with the old woman can Keita be related to his root — his parents. Apparently, Keita is also attracted by the beautiful Yukino and is obsessed with the mythical figure Kaison as his god for salvation. The old woman is believed to be the custodian of Kaison.

As for Yutaka, after sixteen years, he still comes back to the shrine in search of Keita and Yukino. Although he is adopted by a distant relative and has a job in Tokyo, he is all the more rootless. In Keita's words: "You [Yutaka] and I, we're all alone in this world. We were cut from our roots and lost everything. We're lost souls, evacuated, forgotten, left behind. If we were ordinary lost children, our folks would call and weep for us. But we've got no folks. Everybody's forgotten us" (Akimoto, 301). Yutaka's memory of his childhood days, the company of Keita, and the suggested love he has for Yukino have become his root. He says, "I wanted to know,

That's all. I wanted to know what had become of my good friend Keita after he'd been spirited away by the gods of the mountain. I have no idea why I wanted so badly. But for some reason the same question has haunted me all these years. That's all there is to it" (Akimoto, 296). When asked by Yukino about his life in Tokyo, what Yutaka can relate is a series of daily routines: taking the train and working in the office with files and invoices. He is totally alienated from the world of Tokyo. Only in his childhood days and in the same legend can he find his root: "We have our own memories of Yoshitsune, don't we? It's funny, But I can't get that story out of my mind. It springs into my head at the strangest times when I'm working in the office or about to eat a meal" (Akimoto, 194).

Yutaka is portrayed as a foil to provide contrast as well as parallel to Keita. Keita is weak and he stays in the shrine. Yutaka is strong and he goes back to the school. They share the same childhood memory, but they grew up in different ways. Yutaka has not found his root and is still a wandering soul. Yet, Keita is even more wretched and is reduced to, in Yutaka's words, "nothing but a wild beast" (Akimoto, 300). For him, Kaison is

a promise of salvation and he himself at the end also becomes a Kaison and is relieved from his sins and sufferings. Only when he has transcended his present cruel reality will he be able to find his root, which is in the meta-history of Japan and is presented through the mythical figure Kaison in the play.

An outstanding feature of this play is Akimoto's use of the archetypal figure Kaison as a return to the Japanese tradition, or in Martin Esslin's words, the "systems of values," and thus provides a breakthrough from the absurdist view of rootlessness in contemporary Japanese life. By reversing the situation of waiting, Akimoto's "Godot" finally arrives, taking up the role of a Kaison. Kaison provides a source of spiritual power for Keita, as well as for others, in the time of suffering. In terms of dramatic technique, this also points out a direction from that of Abe and Yamazaki.

Although these three plays share a number of similarities in theme, they actually represent two entirely different modes of presentation, as well as two different answers to the question of rootless existence. While both Abe and Yamazaki see it as a perpetual element in post-war Japanese life, Akimoto tries to provide an alternative and gives a promise of salvation.

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The Queen Mother of the West: Historical or Legendary? (Part I)

C. Y. Hsü
(徐兆鏞)

For three milleniums there has been talk in China of a Royal Lady Hsi Wang Mu 西王母 (the Queen Mother of the West). She has been glorified in poems, tales, ancient records and miscellaneous writings and even deified by the Taoists in their scriptures and rites. Many scholars think that she is legendary but the *Bamboo Annals*¹ 竹書紀年, the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* 山海經, the *Biography of the Son of Heaven Mu* 穆天子傳, Ssü-ma Ch'ien's *Historical Records* 司馬遷史記, *Ta Tsai Li Chi* 大戴禮記 (*Book of Rites* by Tsai Te 戴德), *Shang-shu ta-ch'uan* 尚書大傳 (*The Great Commentary upon the Book of History*), Chia I's *Hsin Shu* 賈誼新書 and Yin Shao's *Feng-su t'ung* 應劭風俗通 all mention that King Mu (reg. 1023-983 B.C.)² 周穆王, the fifth sovereign of the Chou dynasty, visited her. Is she historical or legendary? The problem is, as Winston Churchill (1874-1965) said, "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma."

An oracle bone found in excavations in the ruins of the Yin dynasty at Hsiao-t'un, Anyang, Honan Province 河南安陽小屯 since 1928 bears the two characters 西母 in an ancient script. It could be an abbreviation for 西王母. The

Bamboo Annals (old edition) in bamboo strips which was excavated by a tomb robber Pu Ch'un 不準 together with the *Biography of the Son of Heaven Mu* and *I Chou Shu* 逸周書 (*Stray Book of Chou*) in the 2nd year of the T'ai-k'ang reign of Emperor Wu (personal name Ssü-ma Yen) of the Chin dynasty 晉武帝司馬炎太康二年 or A.D. 281 from the tomb of King Hsiang (reg. 318-296 B.C.) 魏襄王, or according to another version, King An-li (reg. 276-249 B.C.) 魏安釐王 of the Wei State at Chi-hsien, Honan Province 河南汲縣, has the following entry: "In the 9th year of Emperor Shun (personal name Yu Yü 有虞 reg. 2233-2184 B.C.) the Queen Mother of the West came to Court." The Treatise on Auspicious Omens in *Sung Shu* adds that "she presented a white bracelet and a semi-circular jade ring." 帝舜有虞氏九年, 西王母來朝。宋書符瑞志稱: 西王母之朝, 獻白環、玉珎。It probably means that the Queen Mother of the West sent an embassy to pay tribute.

Another entry in the *Bamboo Annals* (new edition) says: "In the 17th year of his reign (1007 B.C.) King Mu of the Chou dynasty led an expedition to the west. He came to Mount K'un-lun

where he called upon the Queen Mother of the West. In the same year the Queen Mother of the West came to Court and was lodged in the Chao Palace. In the 8th moon in the autumn the Son of Heaven removed the Jung to T'ai-yüan. He also led an expedition to the north, traversing a thousand *li* of flowing sands and a thousand *li* of accumulated feathers (shed by birds). He subjugated the Ch'üan Jung and took five of their princes prisoner and brought them back east. His westward expedition reached the place where the blue birds had shed their feathers, and the Queen Mother of the West counseled him to terminate it, saying, 'Beware of birds that peck people.' On his westward expedition he covered 1,090,000 *li*."十七年,王西征,至昆侖丘,見西王母,其年西王母來朝,賓于昭宮。秋八月遷戊子太原。王北征,行流沙千里,積羽千里。征犬戎,取其五王以東西征至於青鳥所解。西王母止之曰,有鳥人。西征還里天下,億有九萬里。

Ta Tai Li Chi 大戴禮記 by Tai Te 戴德 of the Han dynasty also records: "In ancient times Emperor Shun succeeded Emperor Yao to the throne for his heavenly virtue. He spread his meritorious governance and virtue and prescribed rites for the Northern Region. ... The Queen Mother of the West came to present a tube of white jade."昔帝舜以天德嗣堯,有功散德,制禮朔方……西王母來獻其玉琯。

Shang Shu Ta Ch'uan 尚書大傳 by Fu Sheng 伏生 (2nd and 3rd century B.C.) who either recalled from memory or preserved sections of the *Book of History* burned with other books by order of Ch'in Shih Huang, the First Emperor of the Ch'in dynasty, also says: "At the time of Emperor Shun the Queen Mother of the West presented a brilliant jade tube."至舜時西王母獻

昭華之琯,以玉爲之。

An annotations by Kuo P'u 郭璞 (A.D. 276-324) to the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* 山海經 say: "Emperor T'ai Mou (reg. 1643-1569 B.C.) of the Yin dynasty sent Wang Meng to collect medicinal herbs in Hsi Shan Wang Mu (Queen Mother of the West). But upon arrival at Chang Jen Kuo (the State of Men) he ran out of provisions and was unable to go farther. Thereupon he ate nuts and wore the barks of trees. He was celibate for his whole life but begat two sons from his own body. Upon the sons' birth the father died. The sons became people of the State of Men." Another annotation says: "In that State there were no women."殷帝太戊使王孟採藥從西王母,至此絕糧不能進。食木實,衣木皮,終身無妻而生子,從形中出。其父即死,是爲丈夫民。(山海經,海外西經,丈夫國,郭璞註)其國無婦人。(山海經,大荒西經,丈夫之國,郭璞註)

Chia-I 賈誼 (201-169 B.C.), the erudite scholar and brilliant writer of the Western Han dynasty, who compared his own fate of banishment to Ch'ang-sha to that of Ch'ü Yüan 屈原 (353-278? B.C.) and who wrote a moving elegy for the poet, says in his *Hsin-shu hsiucheng-p'ien* 新書修正篇 (Chapter on Regulating Governance in his *New Book*): "Emperor Yao ... personally traveled to the Flowing Sands, made sacrifices on Tu Mountain and visited the Queen Mother of the West."堯……身涉流沙,封獨山,西見王母. It is not known where he obtained the historical material.

The *Historical Records* has a brief reference to the Queen Mother of the West: "T'iao-chih (Arabia) lies several thousand *li* west of An-hsi (Parthia). It borders the West Sea. It is very humid

in summer. The inhabitants plough the fields and plant rice seedlings. There is a species of big birds whose eggs are as big as earthen jars. There is a big population ruled by little chieftains. Parthia subjects T'iao-chih to servitude and considers it as a foreign country. Its people are adept to magic. The elders of Parthia have heard of Jo Shui (Weak Waters) and Hsi Wang Mu (Queen Mother of the West) but have never seen them." 條枝在安息西數千里，臨西海。暑濕、耕田、田稻。有大鳥，卵如甕。人衆甚多，往往有小君長，而安息役屬之，以爲外國。國善眩。安息長老傳聞條枝有弱水，西王母而未見。(史記大宛列傳) Here the Queen Mother of the West is mentioned side by side with Weak Waters and sounds like a place name, referring to the land, not its ruler.

There is a similar story in the *History of the Han Dynasty* by Pan Ku 班固 (died A.D. 92). The Account of the Western Region in the *History* 漢書西域傳 says: "The country of T'iao-chih borders the West Sea. It is humid in summer. Rice is grown in paddy fields. There is a species of big birds whose eggs are as big as earthen jars. There is a teeming population ruled over by little chieftains. An Hsi lords over T'iao-chih and considers it as a foreign country. Magic is widely practiced there. The elders of An Hsi have heard that in T'iao-chih are Jo-shui (Weak Waters) and Hsi Wang Mu (Queen Mother of the West) but they have not seen these places. Travel by ship from T'iao-chih westward for more than a hundred days will get to where the sun sets." 條枝國臨西海，暑濕，田稻。有大鳥，卵如甕。人甚衆多，往往有小君長。安息役屬之，以爲外國。善眩。安息長老傳聞，條支有弱水，西王母，亦未嘗見也。自條支乘水西行，可百餘日，近日所入云。(漢書西域傳)

Referring to T'iao-chih, the *History of the Han Dynasty* says: "T'iao-chih produces lions, rhinoceros, peacocks and big birds (probably ostriches) whose eggs are like earthen jars. In the 13th year of the Yung-yüan reign of Emperor Ho (A.D. 101) of the Han dynasty the King of Parthia sent a gift of lions and ostriches which were called 'Parthian birds'." Kwang Chih says, "The bird has an eagle's body, claws like a camel's hooves and is of a dark sallow color. When it raises its head, it is eight or nine feet tall. Its outspread wings measure more than ten feet. It eats barley and its eggs are as big as earthen jars." 條支出師子、犀牛、孔雀，其卵如甕。和帝永元十三年，安息王滿屈獻師子、大鳥，世謂「安息雀」。(漢書) 廣志云：鳥、鵝鷹身，蹄駝，色蒼。舉頭八九尺，張翅丈餘，食大麥，卵大如甕。

According to the *History of the Later Han Dynasty*, "At the time of Emperor Huan (reg. A.D. 147-167) Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antonius of the Roman Empire sent an envoy with a present. It is said that to the west of the Empire lie the Weak Waters and the Flowing Sands which are close to Hsi Wang Mu (Queen Mother of the West) and near where the sun sets." 大秦國王安敦遣使自日南徼外來獻，或云其國西有弱水、流沙，近西王母處，幾於日所入也。(後漢書) Here again Queen Mother of the West refers to a place.

The *Classic of Mountains and Seas* 山海經 has several references to the Queen Mother of the West. This earliest book of Chinese mythology is believed to have been compiled in the Warring States period (403-221 B.C.) but contains legends, people's life-styles and geographical features during the closing period of primitive society.

Hsi-tz'u san-ching 西次三經: "Jade

Mountain is the habitat of the Queen Mother of the West. She looks like a human with a leopard's tail, a tiger's teeth and dishaveled hair with decorations and snarls readily."玉山是西王母所居也。西王母其狀如人，豹尾，虎齒而善嘯，蓬髮戴勝。

Ta-huang hsi-ching 大荒西經： "South of the West Ocean, by the Flowing Sands, behind the Red River and in front of the Black River lies a great mountain named Mount K'un-lun. There dwells a spirit with a human face, a tiger's body with stripes and a tail with white spots. The mountain is surrounded by weak waters at its foot. Beyond it is a Mountain of Flaming Fire, to which anything thrown at it burns. There is a cave-dweller with a tiger's teeth and a leopard's tail and wearing decorations, whose name is the Queen Mother of the West. This mountain has a myriad of things."西海之南，流沙之濱，赤水之後，黑水之前，有大山名曰崑崙之丘。有神人面虎身，有文有尾，皆白處之。其下有弱水之淵環之。其外有炎火之山，投物輒燃。有人戴勝虎齒，有豹尾，穴處，名曰西王母。

It also says: "To the west lies Queen Mother Mountain, Rock Mountain and Ocean Mountain. There is a fertile country with inhabitants. They eat the eggs of phoenixes and drink the sweet dew in the fertile fields. All the tastes they want are provided for. There are sweet flowers, sweet hill haws, white willows, *shih-jou*,³ *san-chui*,⁴ *hsuan* jade, green jade, white wood, red jade, white cinnabar, blue cinnabar, and silver and iron in abundance. The phoenixes call and dance. A hundred species of beasts roam in droves the fertile fields. There are three blue birds with red heads and black eyes."西有王母之山，壑山，海山。有沃野之國，沃民是處沃之野，鳳鳥之卵

是食，甘露是飲。凡其所欲，其味盡存。爰有甘華、甘、白柳、視肉、三雕、璇瑰、瑤碧、白木、琅玕、白丹、青丹，多銀鐵。鸞鳳自歌，鳳鳥自舞。爰有百獸相群，是謂沃之野。有三青鳥。

Hai-nei pei-ching 海內北經： "The Queen Mother of the West leans on a small table and carries a stick with decorations. To the south are three blue birds which fetch food for her from north of the K'un-lun Vale." 西王母梯几而戴勝杖。其南有三青鳥，爲西王母取食，在崑崙虛北。

After reading these descriptions of the Queen Mother of the West, one would think that she was not human but a monster. But I think that the primitive people had legended her. These primitive people who knew the strength of wild beasts from hunting camouflaged themselves by wearing their skins, or just their teeth or tails to fool the preys into thinking they were of the same species and in the belief that such disguise would give them similar strength. Wearing of animal skins or bird feathers by aborigines in Africa, Australia and elsewhere today is a residue of the primitive custom, though its purpose has been changed: now it is mainly for decoration.

Mythology consists mostly of legends out of the primitive people's imagination, superstition and awe at unusual natural phenomena. Some persons and facts had been legended. Thus Emperor Yü (reg. 2183-2177 B.C.), also known as Great Yü 大舜, in whose favor Emperor Shun 帝舜 (reg. 2233-2184 B.C.) abdicated for his meritorious service in controlling the Great Deluge, and who became founder of the Hsia dynasty, was in all probability a real person in history. But in *Huai-nan-tzû* 淮南子 there is the legend that he

transformed himself into a bear when he tunneled Huan-yüan Mountain 輶輶山 while harnessing the floods. He told his wife, the Maiden of T'u Mountain 塗山女; that when he called for her, he would beat a drum but she must not come to him if she heard no drum sound. One day Yü accidentally hit the drum when he jumped over a rock. His wife came immediately but when she saw her husband in the likeness of a bear, she was frightened and ashamed of his beastly appearance. She fled from the scene and at the foot of Sung Mountain 嵩山 she turned into a rock. Knowing that she was pregnant, Yü demanded his son from her womb. The rock broke open and gave birth to a son whom Yü named Ch'i 啓.

My interpretation of this legendary incident is as follows: Yü donned a bear skin either to protect himself in a region probably infested with bears and other wild beasts, or in the primitive belief that such masquerading would give him a bear's strength to shovel mud and rocks. He did not want his wife to see him in the form of a bear and warned her not to come to see him unless she heard his call for her by beating a drum. When he hit the drum accidentally, his wife came, saw a bear and was so frightened that she took to her heels. As she was pregnant, the shock and the strenuous run hastened her birth and she died of child birth. Her lifeless body was stiff like a rock.

Kuo P'u, annotator of the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*, wrote the following laudatory poem on the Queen Mother of the West in the *Collection of Drawings of the Classic of Mountains and Seas*, which unfortunately has long been lost:

The Queen Mother of the West

She is the daughter of the Heavenly Lord
With thistledown-like hair and tigers' mien.
King Mu saw her with precious gifts abroad.
They exchanged verses, tender, warm and keen.
What lies beyond the rhythm of the lay
Is too mysterious to know and say.

西王母

天帝之女，蓬髮虎顏。
穆王執贄，賦詩交歡。
韻外之事，難以具信。
郭璞山海經圖讚

King Mu (personal name Man 滿) who was said to have traveled far to visit the Queen Mother of the West, was the son of King Chao 昭王 (reg. 1041-1023 B.C.), personal name Hsia 瑕 who was obsessed by conquest and wanderlust. The *Bamboo Annals* says: "In the 16th year of his reign (1026 B.C.), as he crossed the Han River on his campaign against Ch'u he came upon a fierce beast" (probably a rhinocero) and "In the spring of the 19th year of his reign (1023 B.C.) on another campaign against Ch'u he lost six detachments of troops in the Han River and he himself was drowned too."

There is a fantastic story about King Mu's birth. *Kuo-yü Chou-yü* 國語周語 says: "15th Year of King Hui 惠王十五年 (662 B.C.): The Court historian Ko said: 'King Chao took a wife at Fang known as Queen Fang who was unchaste for she had an illicit intercourse with the spirit of Tan Chu and gave birth to King Mu.' 內史過……曰：『昔昭王娶於房曰房后。實有爽德，協於丹朱。丹朱憑身以儀之，生穆王焉。』 Now Tan Chu was Emperor Yao's unworthy

son and Emperor Yao disinherited him of the throne and abdicated in favor of Emperor Shun. Fantastic as the story sounds, it hints at King Mu's illegitimacy. But legitimate or not, he seemed to have inherited King Chao's obsession of conquest and wanderlust. The *Biography of the Son of Heaven Mu* relates his many campaigns and travels and hunting and fishing trips.

His obsession must have been the talk of ancient times for Ch'ü Yüan 屈原 (353-278? B.C.), the Father of Chinese poetry, in his "Heavenly Questions" 天問 has a question about it:

Why did King Mu travel from shore
to shore

With an aggressive urge and wanderlust?
What did he seek and what did he
explore

As he went round the world in wind
and dust?

穆王巧梅，夫何爲周流？
環理天下，夫何索求？

The *Historical Records* says: "When King Mu was about to launch a campaign against the Ch'uan Jung 犬戎 Duke Mou-fu of Chi 祭公謀父 remonstrated with him saying: 'Please don't. Our ancestral Kings displayed their virtue but not their soldiery. Soldiery should be held in abeyance and put into action at the appropriate time. When put into action properly, it is power. Display is trifling and trifling dispels dread. That's why Chou Kung 周公 (died 1105 B.C.) says in his sacrificial ode *Shih Mai* 時邁:

He casts the spear and shield aside
And sheaths the arrows and bow too.
He fosters virtue as his due
And spreads it freely nationwide.
Thus the King keeps his throne with
pride.

載戢干戈，載櫜弓矢。
我求懿德，肆于時夏。
允王保之。

With respect to their subjects the ancestral Kings built up their virtue, improved their livelihood, increased their wealth, supplied their needs, and put their services to good use. They helped them distinguish good and evil, developed them culturally, made them go for profits and avoid dangers, embrace virtue and be in awe of Imperial power. They could therefore perpetuate and expand their rule. Two of our ancestors (Ch'i 棄 and Pu K'u 不窋) served in succession as Director of Agriculture to Emperor Shun and the Hsia dynasty. When the Hsia dynasty declined (at the time of T'ai K'ang 太康 reg. 2166-2138 B.C.) agriculture was neglected and Pu K'u lost his office. He went to live among the Jung and Ti 戎狄 tribes. However, he would not neglect his pursuit (agriculture). He practiced virtue, continued his pursuit, set up a behavioral code, worked day and night, observed honesty and earnestness and upheld faith and truth. For generations his virtue was praised as matching that of the progenitor (Hou Chi 后稷). King Wen and King Wu glorified their rule with benignity. They served the deities and protected the subjects, making them both happy. Emperor Chou Hsin 紂辛 of the Shang dynasty was tyrannical toward his subjects. Unable to bear his tyranny any longer, they pledged their support to King Wu and brought about an armed conflict in the suburbs of the Shang capital Chao Ko 朝歌. Our ancestral Kings did not lightly resort to arms; they did so only to root off the pernicious causes of the people's sufferings.

"According to our ancestral Kings'

system, farming service is to be rendered within five hundred *li* in each direction beyond the Imperial capital; loyalty by nobles within five hundred *li* in each direction beyond the suburban areas; homage and fealty by vassals within five hundred *li* beyond the nobles' domain; submission by barbarians within five hundred *li* in each direction beyond the vassalage and allegiance by the Jung and Ti tribes within five *li* in each direction beyond the barbarians' regions. Members of the Royal House should make daily sacrifices, nobles monthly sacrifices, and vassals seasonal sacrifices; barbarians pay tribute and the Jung and Ti tribes pledge allegiance. Daily, monthly and seasonal sacrifices, yearly tributes and allegiance are institutions established by our ancestral Kings. If members of the Royal House make no daily sacrifices, the Emperor will regulate His intent and thought; if nobles make no monthly sacrifices, He will alter His decrees and commands; if vassals make no seasonal sacrifices, He will revise His statutes and laws; if barbarians pay no tribute, He will heighten His popularity; and if the Jung and Ti tribes pledge no allegiance, He will cultivate His virtue. If He has done all these and they still don't do what they should, He will mete out punishment. He will punish the delinquent Royal members, launch punitive campaigns against the delinquent nobles and vassals, reprimand the delinquent barbarians, and bring accusations against the delinquent Jung and Ti tribes. There will then be capital punishment, expeditionary forces, punitive campaigns, authoritative and stern commands, and maniloquent proclamations. If after the publication of decrees or proclamations, they are still delinquent, His

Majesty will cultivate His virtue further and refrain from dispatching His subjects to do labor afar. By so doing He will eventually make all those near and far subservient to Him.

Now upon the death of their chieftains Ta Pi 大畢 and Po Shih 伯士 the Ch'uan Jung came to pledge allegiance. However, Your Majesty said, "We will send a punitive expedition for their failure to make sacrifices and demonstrate our prowess. 'Isn't Your Majesty disavowing our ancestral Kings' precepts and incurring disaster? I've been told that the Ch'uan Jung chieftain espouses honesty, integrity and time-honored morals. This shows that he is prepared against our invasion.'"

King Mu, however, perfunctorily dismissed the Duke's long persuasive memorial delivered in earnestness and personally led an expeditionary force against the Ch'uan Jung in the 12th year of his reign (1012 B.C.). The Ch'uan Jung did not put up any resistance, greeted and toasted him on the Lei 雷 (Thunder) River. He was pleased with his success but all he got from his expedition consisted of four white foxes and four white deer. The incident showed his adventurous and warlike spirit and his disregard for circumstantial inhibitions.

His easy success furthered his martial impulse and wanderlust. He soon led a force of six detachments on a westward campaign. He carried a magnificent bow and a shiny sword and rode a steed that could run a hundred *li* a day and could hold to a tiger or leopard in hunting. When he rode in a chariot, it was drawn by eight winged horses, driven by Tsao Fu 造父, the renowned driver. These eight winged horses were called Ch'ih Chi 赤驥, Tao Li 盜驪,

Pei I 白義, Yü Lun 踰輪, Shan Tzŭ 山子, Ch'ü Huang 渠黃, Hua Liu 華騶, and Lu Erh 綠耳. Beside Tsao Fu, he had other expert drivers — Ts'an Pei 參白, Keng Hsiu 耿修, and Shao Chi 芍及.

According to the *Historical Records*, Tsao Fu selected these eight steeds, trained them up and presented them to King Mu. "King Mu made him his driver on his expedition to the west where he met the Queen Mother of the West. He was so happy with her that he forgot to return home. It happened that King Yen of the Hsü Kingdom 徐偃王 rebelled. He hastened back in his chariot drawn by the eight winged steeds that could run a thousand *li* a day, launched an attack upon King Yen and crushed his rebellion. He thereupon bestowed the City of Chao 趙城 upon Tsao Fu" (in recognition of his meritorious service). His descendants took the surname Chao. The House of Chao became very powerful in the Chin State during the Spring and Autumn Annals period (722-481/480 B.C.) and in 376 B.C. split up the Chin State with the Houses of Wei and Han into the States of Chao, Wei and Han in the Warring States period (403-221 B.C.).

King Mu hunted and fished so often on his way that he exclaimed. "Alas! I have not cultivated virtue but indulged in pleasure. Will posterity look back to my faults?" His attendant knights replied, "What posterity expects is not to contravene the Heavenly principles. If the farmers and workmen carry on their pursuits, clothing and food for both men and women are sufficient, people have property, officials carry on the administration, Heaven sets the time, and people have a gratifying life, why do they need to seek diversion?" King Mu was pleased with the answer.

He arrived at the Ch'un Mountains 春山 believed to be the Pamir Plateau, where sparkling springs abounded and the weather was mild and calm. At the Hanging Garden 懸圃 hundred species of birds and beasts assembled, including tigers, leopards, bears, wolves, foxes, wild horses, yaks, goats, boars, hawks and eagles. He ordered that a stone monument with an inscription of his exploits be erected there. Farther on he met Ch'i 兀, chieftain of the Ch'ih-wu 赤烏, who presented him 1,000 caskets of wine, 900 horses, 3,000 oxen and sheep and 100 cartloads of wheat. He bestowed upon the chieftain four black chariots, 800 ounces of gold, 50 shell-inlaid girdles, and 300 pearls. He received them, kneeling on the ground.

King Mu noted that the Ch'un Mountains were magnificent mountains where gems were found, nutritious grains were produced, and beautiful trees and grasses grew. He picked some rice seedlings to bring home to plant.

For five days he rested at the foot of the mountains and for entertainment he ordered the play of Grand Music 廣樂. The chieftain of the Ch'ih-wu tribe presented him his two beautiful daughters to be his concubines.

After bidding the Ch'ih-wu tribe farewell, King Mu proceeded to the land of the Ts'ao-nu 曹奴. Chi 戲, chieftain of the tribe, greeted him on the bank of the Yang River 洋水 and presented him 900 horses, 7,000 oxen and sheep, and 100 cartloads of rice. He bestowed upon him in return deer made of gold and tailed deer made of silver, 40 shell-inlaid girdles, and 400 pearls. The chieftain received them kneeling on the ground.

After making several other stops and meeting with other tribes, King

Mu came to the Mountain of Clusters of Jade 群玉之山 where trees and grass sparsely grew and no birds or beasts were seen. But it had rich veins of jade ore. He ordered the mining of the jade ore and got an enormous quantity of jade. The chieftain of the Ch'ien-shih 潛時 tribe feasted him on Feather Mound 羽山 and presented him thoroughbred horses, oxen and sheep but he said that since he had mined jade ore from the mountain there, he would not accept his cattle. He bestowed upon him 36 gold ingots and 300 pearls.

He next came to the Chi-lü 劄閭 tribe. He ordered the tribesmen to provide food for his detachments of troops. He made sacrifices at the foot of Iron Mountain 鐵山 and left his sacrificial utensils and food with Wen-kuei 溫歸, the chieftain of the tribe.

After leaving the Iron Mountain, he went farther west to the land of the Chüan-han 郾韓 tribe, where cattle and jade abounded. At a clearing he had a grand levée with his lords, officials and knights. Wu-fu 無鳧, chieftain of the tribe, presented him 100 thoroughbred horses, 300 draft oxen, 1,000 dogs, 200 cows, 300 wild horses, 2,000 oxen and sheep and 300 cartloads of wheat. He bestowed upon him 47 gold ingots, 50 shell-inlaid girdles and 300 pearls.

Farther west, he came to Black Pool 玄池 where he took a rest. He ordered the playing of Grand Music for three days and changed the name of the pool to Music Pool 樂池. He planted there bamboo trees and called the place the Bamboo Grove 竹林.

Going farther westward, he arrived at Bitter Mountain 苦山 where he took a rest after hunting, and he tasted the bitter legume locally grown.

The climax of King Mu's westward journey was his meeting with the Queen Mother of the West in the 17th year of his reign (1007 B.C.) as recorded in the *Bamboo Annals*. Of their meeting the *Biography of the Son of Heaven Mu* reports: On the auspicious *chia-tzu* 甲子 day the Son of Heaven, holding his white and black jade tokens, called on the Queen Mother of the West, presenting her 100 bolts of fine silk and 300 bolts of (plain?)⁵ silk. She accepted the gift after repeated obeisances. The following day he gave a banquet on Jasper Pond 瑤池 in honor of her.

She sang to him the following song:

White clouds in heaven stray;
Mountains and mounds are seen.
On and on runs the way;
Hills and streams between.
Don't keep death off in vain.
Come and see me again.

白雲在天，山陵自出。
道路悠遠，山川間之。
將子無死，尚能復來。

In reply the Son of Heaven sang the following song:

Back to the east I'll go
To placate states and men
And even high and low.
I'll come back to you then.
After three years of toil,
I'll tread again your soil.

予歸東土，和治諸夏。
萬民平均，吾顏見汝。
比及三年，將復而野。

The Queen Mother of the West sang another song to the Son of Heaven:

I came to this west land
And in the wild abide

With tigers, leopards and
 Crows and pies by my side.
 Fixed is the high decree.
 I am the Heaven Lord's child.
 What scion here is he?
 But he will leave this wild.
 When the reed pipes are blown,
 Deep sorrow fills my heart.
 The scion will soon depart.
 Skyward my heart is flown.

祖彼西土，爰居其野。
 虎豹爲群，烏鵲與處。
 嘉命不遷，我惟帝女。
 彼何世民？又將去子。
 吹笙鼓簧，中心翔翔。
 世民之子，唯天之望。

After the banquet, the Son of Heaven drove his chariot up Yen Mountain 弇山 where the sun set. He had an account of his historic meeting with the Queen Mother of the West and a new name for the height "Mountain of the Queen Mother of the West" 西王母之山 carved on a stone tablet which was erected on top of the mountain. Locust trees were planted around the tablet.

Here we see that the Queen Mother of the West whom King Mu visited was no monster with a leopard's tail and a tiger's teeth as earlier legends have her but a lovable, loving and cultured lady.

After his rendezvous with her, King Mu left with his retinue of six detachments but he never returned in spite of his promise of revisiting her in three years. He might have tried to return to see her but was dissuaded by Duke Mou-fu of Chi from further travel. *Tso Ch'uan* 左傳 records a conversation in 530 B.C. between King Ling 楚靈王 (reg. 540-529 B.C.) of Ch'u with his Minister of State Tzû-ko 子革 concerning King Mu. It says that as King Ling was talking with the Minister, the Left

Court-Historian I Hsiang 倚相 happened to pass by. The King said, "There is a good historian who can read San-fen, Wu-tien, Pa-so and Chiu-ch'iu⁶ 三墳、五典、八索、九丘. Please treat him well." Tzû-ko answered, "I once asked him about the Ch'i Chao 祈招 poem that Duke Mou-fu composed to dissuade King Mu from his insatiable wanderlust to make his chariot ruts and steed hoof marks appear all over the world. He did change his mind and eventually died at his pleasure, the Ch'i Palace 祗宮 (at present-day Nan-cheng-hsien, Shensi Province 陝西南鄭縣). I asked him if he knew the poem and he said he did not. How would he know things further than that?" King Ling asked, "Do you know the poem?" Tzû-ko replied, "Yes, I do. It reads:

"Ch'i Chao⁷ kept armies within fold
 To make the royal virtue shine.
 I think of royal rule benign:
 It is like jade; it is like gold.
 In putting people to employ
 It never aims at wanton joy."

祈招之悻悻，式昭德音。
 思我王度，式如玉，式如金。
 形民之力，而無醉飽之心。

The *Bamboo Annals* says that the Queen Mother of the West paid King Mu a return visit in his capital and he lodged her in the Chao Palace 昭宮. Neither the *Biography of the Son of Heaven Mu* nor any other ancient book collaborates with this account but the *Bamboo Annals* records quite a few historical facts differently from tradition and its veracity is confirmed by inscriptions on oracle bones and bronze vessels. A few examples may be cited: The "Wu I" chapter in the *Book of History* 尚書無逸 mentions "Chung Tsung" 中宗,

the posthumous title of a ruler of the Shang dynasty. The *Historical Records* and other history books have him as T'ai Mou 太戊 (reg. 1643-1569 B.C.), the 7th sovereign of Shang but the *Bamboo Annals* has him as Tsu Yi 祖乙 (reg. 1533-1514 B.C.), the 11th sovereign of Shang. Toward the end of the Ch'ing dynasty an oracle bone unearthed has an inscription "Chung Tsung Tsu Yi" 中宗祖乙, confirming the accuracy of the *Bamboo Annals*. Again, the reign years of Duke Huan of the Ch'i State 齊桓公 are recorded in the *Historical Records* as six but the *Bamboo Annals* has them as 18. The inscription on the bronze vessel *tui* of Marquis Wu of Ch'en 陳侯午敦 records an event about Duke Huan of Ch'i in the 14th year of his reign, indicating that the Duke could have reigned up to 18 years as recorded in the *Bamboo Annals*. Another stark variation between the *Historical Records* and the *Bamboo Annals* is the rule after the fall of King Li 周厲王 (reg. 878-842 B.C.) of the Chou dynasty. The *Historical Records* says that the Duke of Chou 周公 and the Duke of Shao 召公 jointly ruled after the flight of King Li from a rebellion of his subjects because of his despotism and misrule, naming their joint rule of 14 years as the period of Kung Ho 共和 (Joint Harmony). But the *Bamboo Annals* says that Earl Ho of Kung 共伯和 took over the rule during that period. "Ho" is the personal name of the Earl of Kung who took over the rule after King Li's departure. This sounds more logical and factual.

Buttressed by these outstanding accuracies, the *Bamboo Annals* may just be right in its account, independent as it may be, of a return visit by the Queen Mother of the West in the same

year as King Mu's call on her. What adds to the credibility of the account is the assertion that she was lodged in the Chao Palace — a special privilege not given to a tribal emissary who was usually accommodated in a guest house outside the palace. If she did make the return visit, she must have been impelled by her yearning for him. If she didn't, her yearning must have grown with the passage of time. Li Shang-yin 李商隱 (A.D. 813-859) of the T'ang dynasty, composed the following poem that best expresses her feeling:

Jasper Pond

Queen Mother opens the window on
Jasper Pond
The doleful Yellow Bamboo Song⁸
resounds beyond;
The eight steeds travel thirty thousand
li a day.
Why doesn't King Mu again come?
What keeps him away?

瑤池

瑤池阿母綺窗開，黃竹歌聲動地哀。
八駿日行三萬里，穆王何事不重來？

There is a similar story of King Mu's visit to the Queen Mother of the West in *Lieh-tzu* 列子. It says: "He ordered that his eight winged steeds be yoked to two chariots. For the royal chariot the inside steeds were Hua Liu 驪騮 on the right and Lu Ern 綠耳 on the left; the outside steeds were Ch'ih Chi 赤驥 on the right and Pei I 白義 on the left. The charioteer was Tsao Fu 造父 with T'ai Ping 西王母 sitting on his right as his second. For the second chariot the inside steeds were Ch'ü Huang 渠黃 on the right and Yü Lun 踰輪 on the left; the outside steeds were Tao Li 盜驪 on the left and Shan

Tzû 山子 on the right. Po Yao 柏夭 was in charge; Shen Pei 參百 was the charioteer and Pen Jung 奔戎 assisted him. They galloped a thousand *li* and came to the country of the Chû-sou tribe 巨蒐氏. The tribesmen presented King Mu the blood of snow geese to drink and provided cow and mare milk to wash his feet; they offered the same to his men for the two chariots. After drinking the beverage, he went on to the slope of Mount K'un-lun north of the Red River, where he put up for the night. On another day he ascended Mount K'un-lun and visited the Palace of the Yellow Emperor and made sacrifices there to perpetuate his memory for posterity.

Then he was a guest to the Queen Mother of the West and had a banquet with her on Jasper Pond. She sang a song for him and he sang one in return. Their songs sounded melancholy. Afterwards he continued his journey westward to see where the sun set. He traveled as far as ten thousand *li* a day. Then he sighed and said, 'Alas! We have neglected virtue in the pursuit of pleasure. Won't posterity look back and count my faults?' "

Lieh-tzû is believed to be a spurious work in the name of Lieh Yü-kou 列禦寇 (fl. ca. 314 B.C.), a philosopher contemporary with Chuang-tzû 莊子 (? - ca. 275 B.C.) and contains many fables used to illustrate his philosophy. Modern researchers have suggested that it was written around A.D. 220 in the Wei-Chin period. The story about King Mu and the Queen Mother of the West it relates must have been from hearsay.

Li Ho 李賀 (790-816), a poet of the T'ang dynasty, dubbed the "démon-talent" 鬼才 for his strange and mystical verses, wrote a poem Yao Ch'ih Lo⁹

瑤池樂 (Joy on Jasper Pond) on King Mu and the Queen Mother of the West. He had a strange way of composing poems. He often went out riding a donkey, bearing an embroidered bag, followed by a boy-servant. Whenever a poetic thought came to mind, he would jot it down on a piece of paper and throw it into his bag. Upon returning home he took out his jottings from the bag and wrote out his poems.

Joy on Jasper Pond

Emperor Mu
Drives dragon horses new.
His eight steeds jingling sweep across
the sky.
Five stars swoop down to blaze a
cloudy trail.
By the tall gate the sun and moon
shine high.
Red carven towers rise on hill and dale.
The train of her rose robe trailing
behind,
Queen Mother looks bright like the
placid sea.
Lights of her gems and Yü Pool fuse
and bind.
In cloud dress jade-sewn down K'un-lun
goes she.
Flags flutter like pine leaves churning;
Canopies whirl round like wheels
turning.
The autumn wind blows past;
Spring, bright and clear, comes fast.
With eight bells jingling ten carts gather
Like cloud banks swirling up together.
On a mat jade cups brimming with
sweet dew,
Rarely found primal frost, deep crimson
snow,
Ripe plums and tinted willows are for
you.
With magic water all your bones are
washed anew.
To an eternal life let us both go.

神仙曲

穆天子，走龍媒。
八轡冬璫逐天迴，

五精掃地凝雲開。
 高門左右日月環，
 四方錯鑲稜層殷。
 舞霞垂尾長盤跚，
 江澄海淨神母顏。
 施紅點翠照虞泉，
 曳雲拖玉下崑山。
 列旆如松，張蓋如龍。
 金風殿秋，清明發春。
 八鑾十乘，轟如雲屯。
 鍾瑤席甘露文，
 元霜降雪何足云。
 熏梅染柳將贈君，
 鉛華之水洗君骨，
 與君相對作眞質。

Li Ho wrote another poem that shows how the fairies craved the presence of the Queen Mother of the West at their gatherings.

Song of the Fairies

Green sea isles stored with sacred tomes
 Are heaven-given fairies' homes.
 On fine days laughters break the air

As they ride whales on waves with dare.
 With a silk note they asked Wang Mu¹⁰
 To feast on top the deep red tower.
 Lest cranes' sea flight be overdue
 They sent green dragons full of power.
 Fearing Wang Wu wouldn't come
 straightway,
 A tressed maid went to urge and pray.

神仙曲

碧峯海面藏靈書，
 上帝揀作仙人居。
 清明笑語聞空虛，
 蘭乘巨浪騎鯨魚。
 春羅書字邀王母，
 共宴紅樓最深處。
 鶴羽衝風過海遲，
 不如却使青龍去。
 猶疑王母不相許，
 垂霧妖鬟更轉語。

According to *Erh Ya* 爾雅, the earliest Chinese lexicon, "Ku-chu 觚竹, Pei-hu 北戶, Hsi-wang-mu 西王母 and Jih-hsia 日下 are the four wilds 四荒.

NOTES

¹ The *Bamboo Annals* in 13 chapters relates the history of the Hsia, Shang and Western Chou dynasties, the Spring and Autumn Annals period and the Warring States period. After the fall of King Yu 周幽王 (reg. 781-771 B.C.) of Chou, it enters the chronology of the Chin State 晉國 and after the division up of the Chin State into the Wei, Chao and Han States 魏趙韓 in 376 B.C., the Wei chronology. It ends in the 20th year of the reign of King Ai 魏哀王 of Wei in 229 B.C.

There are two editions of the *Bamboo Annals*, old and new. The bamboo strips unearthed from the Chi tomb were lost and so were the exegeses by Hsun Hsü 荀勗, Ho Chiao 和嶠 and Shu Hsi 束皙 of the Chin dynasty. Chu Yu-tseng 朱右曾 of the Ch'ing dynasty compiled the stray quotations from the *Bamboo Annals* and called the compilation *Chi-chung chi-nien ts'un-chien* 汲冢紀年存眞 (*True Remnants of the Annals from the Chi Tomb*). With Chu Yu-tseng's compilation as basis the modern scholar Wang Kuo-wei 王國維 (1877-1927) wrote *Ku-pen chu-shu-chi-nien chi-chiao* 古本竹書紀年輯校 (*The Old Edition of the Bamboo Annals, Compiled and Collated*). The contemporary scholar Fan Hsiang-yung 范祥雍 made additions to Wang Kuo-wei's compilation and entitled his book *Ku-pen chu-shu-chi-nien chi-chiao ting-pu* 古本竹書紀年輯校訂補 (*The Old Edition of the Bamboo Annals, Compiled and Collated with Additions*). This is the *Bamboo Annals*, old edition.

When the *Bamboo Annals*, new edition, was compiled is hard to ascertain. Lei Hsüeh-ch'i

雷學洪 of the Ch'ing dynasty said that he had seen a copy of this edition published toward the end of the Yüan dynasty and the beginning of the Ming dynasty, i.e. ca. 1333-1399. An item in *Lu Shih* 路史 by Lo Pi 羅泌 of the Southern Sung dynasty (1127-1279) reads exactly the same as the new edition, indicating that this edition may have been compiled as early as in the Southern Sung dynasty. It contains also many stray quotations from ancient exegeses, dictionaries and other books but also consists of unauthorized additions and revisions. Its compilation is not strictly faithful.

² Dating of the reign years of the kings of the Western Chou dynasty is fraught with difficulties owing to the lack of ancient records. Ssü-ma Ch'ien encountered these difficulties when he wrote the *Historical Records*. The *Bamboo Annals* unearthed in a Chi tomb in A.D. 281 records the numbers of reign years of all kings of Western Chou but it has no indication when the reign of each king began and ended. Seizing upon the numbers of reign years of the Western Chou kings historians and scholars made their calculations but came up with different dates. So far as King Mu's reign years are concerned, the *Historical Records* has two clues: 1. that when he mounted the throne, he was already 52, 2. that he reigned for 55 years. The *Bamboo Annals* has him also reign for 55 years. In dating the reign years of the kings of Western Chou I follow Tung Tso-pin's *Chronological Tables of Chinese History*, Vol. I 董作賓中國年曆總譜上編, known for his scientific dating — historical records, inscriptions on oracle bones and ritual bronze vessels, dates of eclipses, the 1st and 15th days of the moon, etc. But he has King Mu reigning 1023-983 B.C. for 41 years instead of 55 years. According to his chronology, in the 17th year of his reign or 1007 B.C. King Mu at the age of 67 was vigorous enough to travel on horseback or by chariot for thousands of *li*, ascending snow-capped mountains, crossing flowing sands, drinking horse blood when short of water and covering a hundred *li* or more a day. He took then the two daughters of the chieftain of the Chi-wen tribe as concubines and later Lady Sheng 盛姬 as consort, whom he loved dearly for when she died he held for her an elaborate funeral service and shed tears repeatedly even after the funeral.

³ An annotation by Kuo P'u in *Hai-wai nan-ching* in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* says: "Shih-jou is a mass of meat like an ox liver with two eyes, which grows full again as you keep on biting it off." 山海經海外南經：聚肉形如牛肝，有兩目也。食之無盡，尋復更生如故。

⁴ What *san-chui* 三騅 was not known *Chui* 騅 means a horse with grey and white markings. It could therefore mean a species of horse.

⁵ Here is a lacuna. Since the text first talks of fine silk, the missing word is probably "plain."

⁶ These ancient books were long lost.

⁷ Ch'i-fu 祈父 (Chao his personal name) was Minister of War.

⁸ Huang Chu 黃竹 (Yellow Bamboo) was a place which King Mu passed in severe winter amidst rain, snow and northern wind. He saw the bodies of people frozen to death and composed a poem of three verses expressing his compassion for the sufferings of the inhabitants there.

⁹ The original title is *Yao Hua Lo* 瑤華樂 (Joy of Jade Flowers). The term 瑤華 is from the following line in "The Great Lord of Life" 大司命 in the Nine Songs 九歌 by Ch'ü Yüan:

折疏麻兮瑤華

I pluck the jade flowers of the holy jute.

Tseng Ch'ien-fu 曾謙甫, a critic, thought that it would be more appropriate to entitle the poem 瑤池樂 (Joy on Jasper Pond) where King Mu and the Queen Mother of the West feasted. Many other critics agreed.

¹⁰ The Queen Mother of the West.

Songs of Love and Related Matters*

J. I. Crump
(柯迂儒)

Oh, love, how thou art tired out by rhyme!
Thou art a tree whereon all poets climb
And from thy branches everyone takes some
Of thy sweet fruit which fancy feeds upon . . .

LADY MARGARET CAVENDISH (1624-74),
"OF THE THEME OF LOVE"

Mankind comes in a bewildering number of sizes, colors and shapes, but he is the same animal wherever found, and so all societies, ancient and modern, have had to deal with (one way or another) that uniquely human, glorious madness, we call in English, "falling in love." How the intensities of this obviously important human pair-bonding phenomenon are handled by societies varies in different eras and places, but to the best of my knowledge, in *all* human groups (no matter how they have sorted themselves out) members "fall in love with" each other.

Furthermore, no matter how far apart in time and space these human groups are from one another, it is remarkable how similar their expressions of this peculiar state sound. I doubt one could find two societies more disparate than those of twentieth-century United States and fourteenth-century China, but jealousy, for example, is a

universal human trait and always a potential part of "being in love," so the anonymous Mongol dynasty song below probably rings as true to today's reader as it did in Kublai Khan's capital city when it was first sung:

Wind disturbing the eave-chimes again.
Cloth at the window rustles with rain.
That empty pillow,
Cold counterpane
All tangled up with me,
I curse with fine particularity.
My emotions are confused and dim
But the darker thoughts are reserved
for him!
Oh, wait til he comes back here,
Then won't I pick a fight!
And scratch his face!
And twist his ear!
And where did *you* sleep all last night!?

1675.2¹

Traditional Chinese society, unlike our present one, never believed that

*A part of J. I. Crump's work-in-progress, *More Songs from Xanadu*.

romantic love could or should be the basis for marriage and family. The kinds of emotions expressed in the last song and almost all the others we will read later on, are presumed to be felt by courtesans and their clients, for this was the way in which the Chinese traditionally chose to institutionalize and make manageable "falling in love." As befits something as complex as romantic love, the customary Chinese system of bringing men and women "fallen in love" together was wildly complicated — being a cross between a *geisha* system, a procurer's establishment, and sophisticated public entertainment. Furthermore all this had the sanction of the highest levels of urban and court society — either tacit or explicit, with one important exception which will be noted later. These arrangements sound (and indeed were) quite commercial, but there still were many ways within the system for a man and a woman to establish an exclusive liaison, and both in fact and fiction there are numerous examples of courtesans from these relationships who became legitimate wives (or, more often, legitimate "secondary" wives) of men of high social standing. However, my interest is not sociological, it is to give the reader glimpses of the situations and emotions involved in "being in love" in the Mongol era, as expressed in the popular songs of that day, so that the reader may appreciate how strikingly similar the responses of today (*mutatis-mutandis*) were to those of thirteenth-century China.

Then, as now, there were faithless and exploitive lovers, so there were going to be songs about them. Falling in love demands unqualified attachment — even if only for brief periods of time: exclusiveness is, after all, simply jealousy

turned inside out. Such exclusivity and the demand for it is so much a part of our Western love songs that we take its expression for granted. I wonder how many love lyrics in the twentieth century west included the phrase "mine alone." It has even entered into our proverbs — my particular favorite happens to be the German:

"Allein mein, Oder lass gar sein!"
 ("Either you're mine alone or skip
 the whole thing!")

But if only one of the pair remains "in love," he or she becomes extremely vulnerable to exploitation by the beloved. Read this song by Ma Chih-yuan and visualize the situation it supposedly alludes to:

Ma Chih-yuan
 (Shou-yang Ch'u) one of 13

I told you what was in my heart.
 "None the less," you said once more,
 "It's time we part."
 Later, those cruel words
 On your oath you swore
 Were only said in jest
 Is *that* supposed to calm
 The turmoil in my breast?

247.8

And the next piece — same melody, different words:

Pai P'u
 (Yang-ch'un Ch'u)
 "On love" (first of six)

Her dappled brush with failing fingers
 gripped,
 She tries to tell the feeling in her
 breast.
 On silvered sheets, fine-folded,
 She writes this anguished script:
 "Alas, 'til now I've never been oppressed
 By a faithless lover's wrong —

'I will, I will', you did protest
And led me on for — oh, so long."

195.1

Was there ever a literate society in which similar plaintive notes from jilted or abandoned lovers can't be found?

Because it will be important for anyone doughty enough to read this entire book to keep it constantly in mind, let me revert again, briefly, to what these songs from Xanadu are and what may be fairly expected of them.

Popular songs are literary and entertainment confections, not sociological treatises. Their proper business is expression in meter, rhythm and verbal beauty (or sometimes merely cleverness). However, since these songs from Xanadu seem most often to have been written for popular appreciation and performance, it is obvious that the composers believed they were writing — even if only obliquely — about things that transpired or were thought to have happened amongst themselves or their peers. Above all, a student of literature who would associate the literature he studies with the society which produced it, must be shrewdly aware that an author is more often asking himself not "is what I write true," but rather, "is it well said"; and in the case of popular songs, he also asks, "is it musically satisfying." We automatically make allowance for this in our age: In our own culture we never make the mistake of thinking, for example, because so many lovesongs (if that's what they are) have hoarse chanted sections consisting of BABY! BABY! BABY! that the love-object is therefore an infant, or, indeed, that most people really do go about their amours grunting, BABY! BABY! BABY! But if we observe the

amount and intensity of our modern music's preoccupation with love, we *can* be certain that love, loving and loving companionship have a great, though somewhat imponderable, importance in our society. The same may be said of the love-songs from Xanadu — I know of no other poetic form in the history of China which is so devoted to love and sexual attraction in all its aspects.²

Before going on with characteristics of romantic love East and West, I should say something about one literary aspect of these Mongol Dynasty songs: what I characterized above as their *verbal* beauty framed in *form*.³ One of the most bizarre or, at least, striking requirements of fixed-form poetry I know of, East or West, is to be found in songs from Xanadu where it is used both frequently and to very good effect by composers. There was once a popular metrical pattern that informed a song called "Remembering the Young Prince" (*Yi Wang-sun*) and for some reason, long forgotten, writing new words to this "tune" began to require that the last two lines be constructed using the phrases "one half X and one half Y" — you substituted your own words for X and Y. Since romantic love is an ambivalent thing at best — both a joy and a trial, both sweet and bitter, the verse convention of "half this" and "half that" works particularly well with our present subject matter. Note this well-known example:

Little torment, how I love you
How I long for you.
You lead me on until I worry
Over everything I do.
What you said just now I thought
at first was true!
How you mystify —

Half of you is simple truth,
The other half's a lie!

156.4

And also this next "half and half," which pictures self-esteem and righteous indignation battling love for the other, with great compression and considerable charm.

Kuan Han-ch'ing
(Yi-pan-erh) ·
"About love"

Beyond the blue-gauze curtain
The comings and goings cease.
He kneels beside the bed
So eager to make peace —
"You faithless wretch!
"It was *you* who turned from me!"
(My lips speak angry words
(In my distress —
(But only half of them mean "no",
(The other half mean "yes")

156.2

Here is another to the same form by Wang Ho-ch'ing who is well known for his humor and oblique use of form:

The letter came,
I slid it out with care,
Took it to the lamplight
Avidly to read it there.
These two lines are surely clear:
But what are these three scribbled
here!?
Every time I pick it up I vex myself
anew.
Half the time I search for hints,
And half the time I stew.

42.3

Here with his ironic viewpoint, he envisions the transcendental sweetness of a lover's note being trammled by such a sublunary shortcoming as illegible handwriting!

* * * * *

Was there ever a place or time in human history that knew nothing of what we call love-sickness? From the "Song of Songs": "Stay with me flagons, comfort me with apples; for I am sick of love," or as the *New Jerusalem Bible* (p. 1032) puts it, "sick with love,"⁴ and cites Amnon in Second Samuel (13:2), "Amnon the son of David loved Tamar and Amnon was so vexed that he fell sick for Tamar," adding that this is the only other use of the term lovesick in the Bible, but that the word and the situation is often to be found in nearly contemporary Egyptian songs (p. 1033 note c).

From Samuel Daniel's *Hymen's Triumph* of 1615 we hear: "Love is a sickness full of woes, All remedies refusing. . . ."

Or, again, Giles Fletcher's "Wooing Song" from about the same period:

...
Love no med'cine can appease,
He burns the fishes in the seas:
Not all the skill his wounds can stench,
Not all the sea his fire can quench.

Even such an acute observer of life as Josh Billings notes that, "love is like the measels. . . ."⁵

Fiction and poetry in China abound with the lover deprived of his or her love; listless, losing weight, sighing gustily, lackluster of eye — all the symptoms known world wide. We, today, generally treat the malady with sympathy and patience, knowing that it is real enough, but easily cured. The Chinese likewise:

Wang Ho-ch'ing
(Hsi Ch'un-lai)
"On Love"

Love's grip on the marrow of the bone
 No knife, no drench can mitigate;
 It's a morbid illness of the Vital Zone⁶
 No treatment can alleviate —
 There are no remissions for the yearning
 heart!

And yet, these morbid maladies
 Vanish without a trace
 As soon as you and I come face to face!

43.2

My second lovesick song happens to be one of a double set of four addressed to the same person. I shall treat this intriguing group under another heading but let me include #3 of set one here as an example of lovesickness symptoms which echo so much that is so familiar in Western counterparts:

Lu Chih-an
 (Wu yeh-erh)

Besotted by love,
 By melancholy made lack-wit:
 Spring emaciation shamed
 By spring robes' fit.
 Less nightly sleep, less daily bread —
 More haggard, more spindling;
 Waist and limbs dwindling . . .
 Oh, would that this hateful body
 could be shed!

1128.3

Note that "spring emaciation" above refers not just to the season but to love sickness itself, just as it does in the songs written by Liu Chih to burlesque his friend the Tutor's infatuation with the beautiful Mistress Spring (see below).

* * * * *

It should be made clear at this juncture that the Chinese *ruler* was explicitly excluded from the rather light-hearted view of the excesses accompanying the state of "being in

love" so far described. Note the gravity of this song from Xanadu by T'ang Shih called "The Concubine T'ai-chen" who is better known to us as Yang Kuei-fei:

(Hsiao Liang-chou)

So besotted was the emperor
 Of the era called *k'ai-yuan*,
 With lust for love and luxury, that when
 He took Kuei-fei to wife,
 The Eastwind blew to fecundate
 New-greened sprouts of strife.
 A mother still hoped with bated breath,
 But her plump girl-child was doomed
 to death.

(yao)

Fated to end were omens of peace;
 Echoing in Yu-yang, Tatar pipes would
 sing.
 To Ma-wei slope they dragged her
 from the Phoenix Bed
 Tied to the chariot of her king,
 And there a trampled hibiscus now
 lies dead.

1575.3

Notice that the act of taking Yang Kuei-fei to wife did, in some transcendental fashion, cause the "sprouts of calamity" to flourish, and, in the reprise (*yao*), the omens of peace for which the emperor's reign had theretofore been noted, were fated to end because of his infatuation with her. I know of no similar song from Xanadu which celebrates the other fabled Imperial indiscretion — one which is even more apposite since it involved the famous Southern Sung courtesan Li Shih-shih: whatever her shortcomings, Yang Kuei-fei was not, after all, a singing girl. Though I cannot find in Yuan songs poetic elaboration of Sung Hui-tsung's infatuation with Shih-shih, the dalliance is a theme in *tz'u* poetry, *shih*-verse

and fiction and is best known through that curious historical hodge-podge, the *Hsuan-ho Yi-shih*.⁷ In this quasi-romance we find the emperor urged by wicked ministers to make nocturnal visits incognito to the marketplace. There he becomes infatuated with the fabled Li Shih-shih and eventually raises her to the imperial harem — over the strong objections of his saintly advisor Chang T'ien-chueh. Shortly after her elevation, emperor Hui-tsung is taken on a dream-like flight to the Moon Palace by his pet Taoist adept. There he sees two men, "one dressed in red and the other in black, sitting to the south and north of each other." (p. 66) They explain that they have been ordered by the Celestial Emperor to play chess for rulership of the empire. The one in black wins and departs, laughing, for the north. Hui-tsung realizes that the one in red represents himself and he is destined to lose his land. He tells Li Shih-shih his dream. She minimizes its importance, but the reader knows that royal infatuation with a courtesan is the straw that is to break the back of Hui-tsung's (and China's) celestial fortunes.

It is perhaps of some interest that we, presently, in the United States quite readily forgive romantic involvements in all save our presidents and presidential candidates!

* * * * *

The perseverance of lovers seeking one another out is legendary and remarked in the West by such phrases as *Amor omnia vincit* (slightly wrenched from the syntax and the meaning intended in Virgil's Tenth Eclogue, to be sure) and things like the last line of the old English folk song, "Love

will find out the way."⁸ The following song from Xanadu is a celebration of love's tenacity, albeit of a rather special form:

Po P'u
(Hsi-ch'un Lai)
Emotions (1 of six)

Lovers thrive on adversity.
"The more bitter the melon at first,
"The sweeter the ripe one will be."
Mama pressures, interferes,
Finds reasons for delay;
But the more she obstructs,
The happier they!

196.4

The former Chinese societal response to the human imperatives of romantic love, namely the old courtesan and patron system, had become disorganized by the end of Imperial China, and, unsatisfactory as it was, nothing more workable has since taken its place. People born after the turn of this century tend to forget how the older system operated — to such an extent that it appears not one but two modern Chinese commentators on the little song above (one of whom is the estimable Wang Li) mistake the "Mama" in the lyrics for the biological mother (*mu-ch'in*)⁹ of the girl. *Nai-niang*, the term used in the song for the woman keeping them apart, is nothing of the sort. She is the madam of the house-of-joy to whom the girl is practically indentured; in the song, madam is causing trouble over the price and/or conditions the young man must accept for the lady's exclusive attentions.

I'm sure the reader has already sensed the built-in weakness and contradiction of the Chinese convention of romantic love involving courtesans — it is the commercial aspect and the sharing of

the loved one with others. This is something which, by its nature, is antagonistic to the exclusivity demanded by "being in love." The system's shortcoming was just as obvious to the Chinese and the Chinese poet as it is to us. Consider the following song by Lu Chih (one of the very few writers of songs from Xanadu, by the way, about whom we know enough to say that he achieved considerable rank and official importance). The song is titled by the composer, "Parting from the Courtesan, Pearl-screen Elegance" (*Chu-lien hsiu*):

(Lo Mei-feng)

Scarce had we our pleasure taken
Than we did part.
Deep, deep the hurt
To be thus forsaken.
That pleasure-boat, departing
Bears off all my Spring
Leaving me — worthless now —
Half a moonlit river, shimmering.

131.4

Before you draw too many heart-rending conclusions from this little piece, however, I hasten to point out that there are also, in the collection (*Ch'üan Yuan San-ch'ü*) we all use, songs to and about that same intriguing Pearl-screen Elegance, composed by both Hu Ch'i-yu (69.3) and Kuan Han-ch'ing (170.1), both of whom were probably friends of, or at least known to, the author of the song above. I think there must have been a special level of relationship possible, and perhaps common, among fellow patrons of the same courtesan — particularly if she were a famous entertainer whose clients vied with one another to furnish her song lyrics to sing perhaps more often than they did for her more intimate favors.

If someone as well-known in the *beau-monde* as Pearl-screen Elegance sang the words you composed for her, it lent you considerable social *cachet* and *eclat*. In cases like these we're not really dealing with romantic love, but with stylish games involving the two sexes as played by members of China's highest social strata.

The next two moderately satirical songs along with their preface, demonstrate one way in which the social game was played. The composer of them was merely being clever and teasing a friend for his infatuation with a singing girl by composing verses full of *double-entendre* and puns. Nevertheless the three units below reveal a great deal about the social play that was a part of the system: but here, as is often the case, one learns more only to find more questions generated by the knowledge.

Liu (Chih) Shih-chung

(Shiao-t'ao Hung) One of three

[Composer's preface: K'uei Ch'un-ch'ing (Mistress of Spring), the singing girl from Wu-ch'ang, was acknowledged to be the most beautiful and talented entertainer of the time. My friend Wen Tzu-fang, Secretary in The Board of Justice, visited Wu-ch'ang; on this occasion the Tutor An Tzu-chu met Mistress of Spring and was so taken with her that he could not put her out of his mind. I wrote these songs (in his persona) and gave them to him.]

I would be Spring's companion every
day,
So daily I pursued this Spring.
But lo, her clouds no rain would bring,
So this year Spring has made me waste
away.
Outside the window who doth sing
"Forever Let Spring Stay?"¹⁰
But, alas, Spring can't be bought;
Spring, questioned, always answers

naught.

Who can know the mind of Spring?

659.3

Spring alone can bring
Cures for the ravages of spring.
When Spring comes I hope I'm there
Her drunkenness to share —
Even more I long to share Spring's
sleeps
But hate the tardy times she keeps.
When I heard that Spring had come
last night,
My spring-heart swelled with mute
delight,
Expressing its feeling by the secret
gifts I bring —
Still, who knows what will happen in
the spring but Spring?

660.1

It's doubtful that these songs were composed for performance by the beautiful Mistress Spring (thereby to gain our author social status) but they were certainly used for some sort of informal social entertainment. (Anyone who deals with Yuan dynasty song-poetry must constantly keep in mind that they were originally designed to be *sung*, well or badly, by the poet or someone else.) Notice, however, that Mistress Spring was free to deny her personal favors if she wished¹¹ — "But lo, her clouds no rain would bring" and "But alas, Spring can't be bought." And in the second song, "Even more I long to share Spring's sleeps, But hate the tardy time she keeps." The two songs' allusive language has a long history in the vocabulary of Chinese poetry. (Few things are praised more often than long sleeps in the spring ["Spring Fever"] and spring drunkenness. The conceit of spring arriving all in one night can be found in verse from T'ang through Ming.) However, there can be

no doubt that the composer's primary purpose in writing these verses was twitting his friend the Tutor for his failure to gain the more personal services of Mistress Spring. Oh, well, poor Wen Tzu-fang was only a *Chu-chiao*, — a post somewhat less lofty than an Assistant Professor — and Spring's madame, or Spring herself, was probably well aware that there wasn't much money to be gotten from academic types.

I don't wish to leave any mistaken impression now or later: sharing pleasure with a beloved is certainly one of the great sources of deep emotion available to human beings. It is hardly strange, then, that many of these courtesan liaisons resulted lasting and tender love affairs. There is oblique evidence for this in a set of four songs by T'ang Shih (a late Yuan composer) called simply "Elegies to a Singing Girl." He obviously had been sent formal notice of her death (the term he uses is *fu-yin* 訃音), probably attended her obsequies, and was moved to write four pieces in her honor. It makes one wonder just what relationships were involved here. The first of the set is the most informative:

T'ang Shih

(Ch'en-tsui Tung-feng)

"Elegy for a Singing Girl" (one of four)

Death Notice: stabbing my heart in
a thousand ways

Funeral Song: reviving grief of a
hundred parting-days

Butterflies grieve; flowers now serve
in vain.

The Phoenix weeps; the pipes have
halted their refrain.

The nights are long and lonely now
in Li-ch'un Yuan.

I hate thee unforgiving Yama, King
of Hell,

Who sent death so untimely

To the nymph I loved so well.

1580.3

The grieving butterflies, weeping phoenixes and silent pipes are all cliché, but there is something quite moving about the openness and elegaic formality of these four *ch'ü* (a poetic form usually reserved for parties and other lively occasions).

* * * * *

But if vying with one's peers to write love songs for famous courtesans is typical of Chinese rather than of all human beings "in love", surely the lover's tryst — with its anxieties, its nervous expectations, is truly universal.

The sad tryst of Pyramus and Thisbe at the mulberry tree by Ninus' tomb can glory in a certain antiquity (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, iv, 55; ca. 2 B.C.?) since Ovid sets the scene in ancient Babylon; but there are few trysting lovers in literature who can antedate those in *Mao Shih* #76:

Oh, Chung-tzu

Do not leap the hedgerow to our farm,
Nor break the willows planted there!

If the willows suffered harm

I would not care;

It's mother and father that I fear.

Chung-tzu, I do hold you dear,

But the words of my parents I do fear.

Liu T'ing-hsin's song from Xanadu called "Keeping the Tryst" is somewhat trite but calls to mind many others of its ilk to be found East or West.

(Ch'ao T'ien-tzu)

All is silent in the deep of night —
Clear moon shining at its height.
To the little study no one comes;
But the student himself is not abed,

For whispering to his love he said:

"No need to tap on your window
screen.

I'll shake the branches of the blossomed
tree.

Remember now —

Wait til you have seen

The shadows dance, and there I'll be."

Disregarding the anachronism of the lighted match below, I hear echoes in "Keeping the Tryst" of Robert Browning's "Meeting at Night," second stanza:

Then a mile of warm-scented beach;
Three fields to cross till a farm appears;
A tap on the pane, a quick sharp scratch
And blue spurt of a lighted match,
And a voice less loud, through its
joys and fears

Than the two hearts beating each to
each.

Unlike the love songs we have described and translated so far, tryst songs should probably (though not obviously in all cases) be read as meetings between young men and marriageable young women not in the entertainment trade. Obviously, the songs are so written because, being forbidden it heightened the literary suspense and risk which is the essence of a tryst; but I have no doubt at all that such encounters were social facts as well . . . for all the determined chaperoning furnished young women of good families in China!

The next two trysting songs by Shang T'ing belong together because the young woman is in each case waiting in vain for her lover, and because they share not only the same denouement but also two lines almost verbatim. They (like 62.3 and 62.4) could well be doublets (two attempts at writing essentially the same verse) but that is

nearly impossible to determine with certainty.¹²

(Pu-pu chiao)

Late, beneath the stars and moon,
Under the window, braving fear,
I stand, wait, I hope to hear
Him coming soon.

Hark! Outside the gate I hear
a sound —

My lover's footsteps on the
ground?

Ah, no, it's not —

The wind is rustling in the garden
plot!

63.1

(Pu-pu chiao)

Still and lonely night, chill and
clear.

Brushing the curtains
Of Mermaid Gauze aside,
She swallows a sob, stifles a tear,
For suddenly she strains to hear
Her lover's footsteps on the
ground —

Blue bamboos shadowing her
screen outside

Are rustling; there is no other
sound.

62.5

If the young woman awaiting her
lover in the first examples is a bit too
timid and supine for the reader's taste,
let me introduce him to a rather more
forward miss in the next two:

Shang T'ing
(Pu-pu chiao)

Elegant slippers with "twined root"
trim.

Elfin feet bound wondrously slim.

A willowy waist —

Slowly her Golden Lotus shoes are shed;

Languorously she tilts her head:

A child, before others acting shy,

She pretends she can't get her waist-
band to tie.

62.3

Shang T'ing
(Pu-pu chiao)

Adorable slippers enclose

Tiny bound feet in their white hose —

As they make their way so quickly here.
She's deceived her parents, this impu-
dent one,

So with her lover she's most severe —

Yet see how rapidly her waistband is
undone!

62.4

There is another large sub-genre
of songs, closely related to those which
call themselves something like "on love"
or "about love" the so-called *kuei-ch'ing*
or *kuei-yuan*,¹³ "resentment (or emo-
tions) in the women's quarters," where
the composer, in the persona of a lonely
woman, can summon up languorous
love scenes of the past or dwell upon
yearning for the departed lover in the
present. Most of the time these pieces
presuppose that the gentleman had
succeeded in removing his loved one
from the house-of-joy and installing
her in his own women's quarters —
only to be called away for any number
of reasons, leaving her pining. The
following is a good example of the type:
it bears no title but is obviously a *kuei-
yuan* piece with its seasonal shift from
summer to fall implying the passing of
youth and chances for loving congress,
and, of course, the unshared bed:

Anon.
(Wu Yeh-erh)

Fall comes on;

Gradually I feel

The chill increase.

Cold from the north

Return the geese

And southward wheel.

Yellowing, the *wu-t'ung* leaf

Only deepens my grief.

My embroidered spread

Throughout the night
Lies undisturbed on half the bed.

1723.4

Not all "resentment from the women's quarters" includes references to seasonal movement, but a great many do — sometimes simply by reference to the condition of certain flowers. Plum-blossoms imply spring, chrysanthemum, fall, and several special summer blooms can set the stage. The next is set very late in the summer with the first signs of fall (the tattered conditions of the flowers lending intensity to the lonely woman's worries about the lack of news.¹⁴ The goose and the carp are traditionally the romantic mail-carriers in Chinese verse:

Tseng Jui
(Ssu-k'uai yü)

The tuberose has snapped in two,
All the water-chestnuts' blooms are
through.
Old resentments, recent wrongs,
Loom as huddled mountains do.
Like one blind,
While staring at the kiosk on the garden
lawn,
I think of you.
No geese, no fish to carry word;
No news of you has yet been heard —
Where art thou gone?

474.2

The southward migration of geese of several kinds signaled Autumn and the period of decline and decay, just as they do to those of us in the West who live in the northern temperate zone. Furthermore, the flocking of crows and ravens in trees — which are usually beginning to lose their leaves — also marks (as it does for us) the autumnal season. Given the frequent demand

in Chinese fixed-form poetry for parallel verse, the two migrants are often found balancing each other in successive lines — for example:

Several lines of geese from the border
forts
Slant across the sky.
In the thick woods a thousand black
dots
Caw their raven cry . . .

465.1

And in a song matrix which demands a more complex set of couplets (Che-kuei ling) another and more elaborate pairing of the two birds to symbolize autumn can be found:

A thousand, ten thousand dots of
crows
Settle in the old dead tree.
Two lines, three lines written across
the sky;
Geese drop to the sandbar in gabbling
company.

463.3

(The latter example is not seen by the eyes of a lonely lady in the women's quarters and so cannot rightly be called an example of *Kuei-yuan*. It is from one of a set now titled "Written in a Dream" and there is some argument over who the actual composer was.)

Often the fall goose is joined by crickets seeking warmer niches to pass the winter and so are more audible to the lonely lady in this season:

Tseng Jui
(Ssu-k'uai yü)

"Emotions in the women's quarters"

The lone goose calls sadly,
Crickets of the cold weep.

While she dreamt, they were no longer
 apart;
 But now she's startled from her sleep
 And sounds from these creatures of
 loneliness
 Have shattered her aching heart.
 Blue-black brows knit and grieve,
 Little pearls of tears, falling,
 Wet her sleeve.

473.1

However, there are a few of these
 "emotions in the women's quarters"
 in which the lonely woman explicitly
 calls herself the man's wife — as in the
 following rather clever song by Hsu
 Tsai-ssu:

(Hsi ch'un-lai)

Alas, for the wife of a travelling man,
 For I was matched by unkind fate
 With a cruel and faithless mate.
 "I'm only going to Eastern Wu",
 He told me when he went
 These three long years ago.
 Now what's to do?
 Here's a letter he just sent
 By a man from far Kuangchou.

1041.3

You must understand that this
 particular women's quarters is probably
 supposed to be located in Hangchou
 so that when the travelling man told
 her he was going to Eastern Wu it was
 someplace about as far from Ann Arbor
 as Chicago, but suddenly she's gotten
 a letter postmarked (as it were) Los
 Angeles.

* * * * *

Now, in order that the somewhat
 sardonic burden of the next songs should
 be made clear I must relate a story.
 In the Sung dynasty a popular theme
 for all kinds of fiction and performance
 literature was the story (original now

lost) of the lovely courtesan Su Ch'ing
 and her well-born lover Shuang Chien.
 It was the Sung Dynasty equivalent of
 our Romeo and Juliet and had as many
 recensions as its Western counterpart.
 So popular was this love story by the
 time of the Yuan Dynasty that the
 names of the lovers became cliches
 on the lips of everyone — song-writers
 included. Su Ch'ing and Shuang Chien
 became standard allusions to *all* lovers
 yearning for the absent one. The next
 piece is an illustration; this is about an
 unidentified lonely beauty yearning for
 her lover — she is identified with the
 heroine and he with the hero of the
 story:

Anon.

(Lo-mei Feng)

Pretended yawns conceal deep sighs.
 To hide her tears she counterfeits sore
 eyes.
 Feigns coughs to help disguise
 Complaints that rise
 Unbidden to her lips,
 And his secret name in her murmuring,
 Over and over again —
 Oh, how our Su Ch'ing longs for her
 Shuang Chien!

1748.2

The original love story (if there
 was an actual written original) could
 have been a musical drama or a medley
 of songs. In either event, the "original"
 is lost in the mists of time, the scenario
 I will now give the reader is a patchwork
 job from Yuan and Ming productions:

At great expense Shuang Chien
 sets Su Ch'ing up in a private menage
 of her own in the courtyard of the
 house-of-joy, and they share an idyll.
 Soon, however, he must return home
 to get more money to support his love
 in the custom demanded by the madam.

While he's gone, mama is offered a great deal more money for Su Ch'ing by the villain, a wealthy tea-merchant named Wang K'uei. In some versions there is also another wealthy friend (?) of the tea merchant called Huang Chao who is part of the negotiations somehow. Su Ch'ing is tricked into boarding the tea-merchant's boat and he bears her triumphantly away to Yu-chang. Shuang Chien makes, or inherits, his fortune, returns to Su Ch'ing; she is gone, but he tracks her down. Eventually he finds the tea merchant's boat at Yu-chang and takes her back.¹⁵ Remember those names: Lovely Su-ch'ing (also known as Su Niang), handsome Shuang Chien, rich merchants Wang K'uei (and Huang Chao), and the place of eventual reunion, Yü-chang; because the next songs allude to characters from this widely known tale and are used by the composer to poke fun at courtesans, their establishments, and the inevitable commercial considerations that contrast badly with the demands of romantic love. The title (supposedly given it by the composer Tseng Jui) is "Mocking the Singing Girl" (*Ch'ao Chi-chia*).

(Ssu-k'uai yü)

Feng K'uei's rude,
Huang Chao's crude,
But they're both as wealthy as the
Gods!
It's not that I don't love dear Shuang
Chien;
But since madam is tough
And the way up is rough
It's the money you've got that makes
the odds.

476.1

There are other songs from Xanadu in which some composer or another ruefully alludes to the disparity between

love's young dream and the market actualities. Indeed, there is even another one by the same composer of 476.1 which includes the lines:

What's needed is a bit of wealth
To restore lovesick Shuang Chien to
health . . .
. . . Doors to palaces of pleasure
Swing open at the sight of treasure.

488.3

I suspect this composer had had some unfortunate experiences with "falling in love!" Finally, there is the famous full-fledged parody of the Su Ch'ing and Shuang Chien love story by the composer who gave us *Fat Courtesan* — the irreverent Wang Ho-Ch'ing. He titles this song *Fat Couple* and composes, with compact and mordant satire, his own version of a corpulent Romeo and Juliet:

Fat Couple

A rather obese Master Shuang
Bore off an overweight Miss Su-Niang
(Each one of that pair
Was the size of a bear!)
On the wings of romance, off they sped,
But paused a while at Yü-chang to
pant —
These lovebirds the size of an elephant—
And bang their bellyskins in bed!

47.2

Wang Ho-ch'ing's appeal lies largely in his airy depreciation of the sacred cows of his society — even including it's most famous romantic love story. The irrepressible Wang (composer as well of the song about the love note handicapped by bad handwriting) has in addition a very much broader piece featuring a ludicrous situation in which the lover's flight of passion

is brought heavily (pun intended) back to earth. It almost certainly is a spoof of the numberless love songs in which every lover is a handsome young man and every mistress a willow-waisted beauty. The title is once again uncompromising — *Fat Courtesan*.

Throughout the night we love-ducks
played
The ripples on our pond were made
By a heaving crimson counterpane.
But having done with clouds and rain,
I find it hard to bear
When, still asleep, she rolls upon me
there —
So tall, so big, so thick, so fat —
Like Shen Tung-yang I'm pressed
quite flat!

44.1

He was not, however, the only composer to see sexual activity as something other than "falling in love." Among the large group of anonymous compositions which occupy pages 1561 to 1872 of *Ch'üan-yuan San-ch'ü* there are a number of mildly ribald songs which do not even pretend to be talking about romantic love — only sex and the accidents attending stealthy amours. They range from the slightly comic to broad slapstick. Of these there are four that form a set sharing repeated use of whole lines and phrases in differing settings. They may have been done by the same composer and therefore simply be quadruplets, but I suspect that they are in fact the results of a rowdy party at which everyone was required to use the same tune (Hung Hsiu-hsieh) "Red Slippers" differing rhymes, and some of the same words, to sing of a misadventure related to sexual activity. Such impromptu songfests and their products are quite common in CYSC

(see ch. 00 below).

Anon.
(Hung Hsiu-hsieh)

Pinched by wretched poverty
My couplings suffer uncertainty.
Usually heaven's our room and the
earth our bed
With only a brick beneath the head.
But once behind the cookhouse stove,
And once in the horse's pen —
Tho' we had to be careful about our
panting then!

1692.2

I opened up the red couch-drapery
And stooped to touch the inlaid bed.
Hoping so to "light the silver lamp
with thee",
I moved my feet with such a careful
tread
The slipper-soles scarce touched the
floor.
But then spoke that accusing tongue
Of the squeaking swinging door!

1692.6

Parting the curtains cautiously,
Lightly and most carefully
Groping for her inlaid bed,
Suddenly, on a chestnut-burr
My bare foot did tread!
My wits were scattered,
My courage shattered,
While from all this came
Noise to put a thunderclap to shame!

1693.1

Of course, maladroitness amours and ribald mishaps have played a large part in Western literature from Greek comedic drama through Boccaccio to the present in both prose and poetry. It is a source of immense satisfaction to me to have found imbedded in Yuan dynasty song poetry all the nuances of that most human and most powerful of mankind's emotions I had already come across in Western literature. Being hard put

to say exactly why this satisfies me so,
I find that I must take refuge in quoting
my own words from elsewhere:¹⁶

In the first place, in the long view,
human beings East and West are more
alike than they are different (a thesis

I happen to feel stands in need of
frequent iteration), and in the second,
observing and commenting on this
fact is the greatest contribution and
the most lasting source of excitement
our generation of scholars has had
to offer. Incidentally, I believe it is
this fact that has made us happy in
our profession for so many years.

NOTES

- ¹ These indicate page and item number in *Ch'üan Yuan San-Ch'ü*, Taipei 1969.
- ² Sung dynasty *tz'ü* poetry comes closest; but it is my observation that a very much smaller percentage of them concern themselves with what we have been calling love.
- ³ We long ago lost their melodies and so can say little about their musicality.
- ⁴ *The New Jerusalem Bible* N.Y.C. 1985.
- ⁵ *Josh Billings: His Sayings* by Henry Wheeler Shaw.
- ⁶ 膏肓 (*kāo-huāng*) cf. our "solar plexus"?
- ⁷ See William O. Hennessey's translation, *Proclaiming Harmony*. The Chinese edition I use is found in the *Sung, Yuan P'ing-hua Ssu-chung* and any page numbers given refer to that publication.
- ⁸ Shakespeare alludes to it in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: "the course of true love never did run smooth."
- ⁹ "100" p. 21 uses *mu-ch'in*; 古代漢語 p. 1511 says it means *niang*. Unless Wang Li means "wet nurse" (which he obviously doesn't) his gloss must refer to the actual mother of the girl.
- ¹⁰ This appears to be a song title (*ch'ü p'ái*) but appears in none of the well-known lists of them.
- ¹¹ The question then presents itself: How much autonomy did Spring have in such a situation? Or, was she, herself, the madam?
- ¹² If the student limited himself to only two of the available editions in which these last songs are found he might chide me for my caution in not suggesting more strongly that they *are* "doublets." However, if he used all the editions available he would find that two of them give no composer's name for 62.3, that *Li-yuan Yueh-fu* gives the third verse as "She's but a child, warm and soft", and in the last verse she "bends her head and pretends to be rolling up her sleeve." *Yung-hsi Yueh-fu* also has variants which resemble *Li-yuan* more than they do the other editions. These facts constitute an excellent admonition for the scholar: songs from Xanadu were composed for the most part by little known persons; they were immediately part of the public domain, to be copied, altered and imitated by anyone. The scholar who would draw biographical conclusions based on the contents of songs attributed to a particular person, is, for the most part pursuing an *ignis fatuus*. See my *Songs from Xanadu* Ch. III for one of the very few exceptions.
- ¹³ A Ming collection of songs which is not available to me (新鐫出相詞林白雪) (in 8 ch.) edited by Tou Yen-pin 饒彥斌 has a whole division devoted to 閨情. A student of Y.Y. Tseng once counted the number of songs in CYSC with *kuei-yuan* in their titles and found 83 short songs and 7 suites. (see Tseng 1981) p. 162.
- ¹⁴ Traditionally even officials travelling to their posts, or stationed far from home, would return in the fall to leave their summer garments for repair and pick up a set of winter garb or send servants to do this. Their family's anxiety mounts when the absent one has not returned by

autumn.

- ¹⁵ In one version he locates her by her singing in Wang K'uei's boat. This version is the basis of Acts II and III of the Yuan drama featuring Po Chü-yi, called *Ch'ing-shan Lei* (YCH #51) (Birch 1974 p. 250 for comparison of Yuan and Ming versions).

- ¹⁶ *Études d'histoire et de Littérature Chinoises* offert au Professor Jaroslav PRUSEK, Vol. xxiv (Paris, 1976) p. 63. See also *Chung-Wai Literary Monthly* 15-10, April 1987 where Professor Perng Ching-hsi has translated these sentiments into graceful Chinese.

Flowers in the Mirror: A Comparative Study of the Motivation and Significance of T'ang Ao's Overseas Journey

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Most scholars agree that modern research¹ on Li Ju-chen's² 李汝珍 (c. 1763-1830) *Flowers in the Mirror* (Ching-hua yuan 鏡花緣 1828),³ began with Hu Shih's 胡適 "An Introduction to *Flowers in the Mirror* (Ching-hua yuan ti Yin-lun 鏡花緣的引論 1923)."⁴ The first part of Hu Shih's essay broadly covers Li's biographical background, his mastery of phonology, and delineates a personality distinctive from that of most of the contemporary scholars; the latter part sets forth Hu's revolutionary and yet provocative views on women in the novel, with his perceptive discussion of Li's novelistic art ("showing" and "telling" in modern critical terms), concluding with a discussion of the art of satire. Hu's essay has served as the basis for the expanding and deepening of the research dimensions of *Flowers in the Mirror* (henceforth abbreviated as *FIM*), both in terms of appreciation and criticism. For instance, in "The Scholar-Novelist and Chinese Culture: A Reappraisal of Ching-hua Yuan."⁵ C. T. Hsia eruditely elucidates the term "scholar-novelist" and perceptively defines *FIM* as a scholarly novel.

With this definition he further clarifies the allegorical and thematic structure of the novel. On the other hand Frederick P. Brandauer⁶ argues more skeptically that Hu's views on women and those of his followers⁷ actually moved in a false direction vis-à-vis the modern feminist movement, and he concludes persuasively that *FIM* "is projected against a Confucian ideal for women. Li Ju-chen does advocate a kind of feminine emancipation, but it is always toward that particular ideal."⁸

In sum, the main areas of modern research primarily concern Li's narrative and satirical art, his allegorical, historical, and thematic structure, his encyclopedic erudition rooted in Chinese culture, and his views on women.⁹ In this context, it seems surprising that critics of the novel have not recognized the importance of the motivation and significance of T'ang Ao's overseas journey. It is perfectly true that *FIM* is actuated by and concerned with women, beginning with the rise of Empress Wu, followed by the banishment and reconvening of the flower spirits,

and ending with the fall of Empress Wu. But again surely no one would controvert the critical consensus that the account of the voyage led by the male protagonist, T'ang Ao, remains the most dramatic and highly organized part of *FIM*.

In so far as previous criticism has dealt with the issue of the motivation and significance of T'ang Ao's journey, it has seen T'ang's role as serving to rescue and reassemble the flower spirits that had been banished to the mundane world. T'ang, frustrated and disappointed by his failure to acquire a government post after a brilliant success in the third level of the Imperial Examinations, comes to realize that the fifty years of his life are nothing but a dream, and he therefore decides to go on a quest for Taoist fairyhood. Together with two companions, he plays a role like Gulliver in utilizing the journey as an occasion to criticize the ills of contemporary society and to advocate some of his ideals.

But are these the motives that really lead to his decision? Yes, at least to some extent. From the fact that T'ang becomes the father of the incarnated Fairy (百花仙子) we know already that he was elected by Heaven for the mission. As a scholar-novelist discontented with his society, Li tends to find release in satirical criticism skilfully disguised as a "journey," just as Swift does in *Gulliver's Travels*. And the journey is so camouflaged as to seem irrelevant to the times of the author in order to avoid the risk of official censorship. Also there is the possibility for someone going on a long and eventful quest to realize that life is illusory and vain, though other results may also be possible. Macbeth and Antony, for

example, would choose death instead.¹⁰

T'ang Ao mutters retrospectively to himself while standing in front of the Dream Spirit Temple (夢神觀), "What is life but a dream! Good dream and bad dream, I have dreamt them all during these half a hundred years of worldly life! I seek only the way of Tao. . . ." From this statement it is clear that¹¹ T'ang Ao is about fifty years old at this point. The question is: Is it coincidental that Faust makes a pact with Mephistopheles also at the same age? So it might appear at first sight but actually it is not so. Fifty, in Confucius' words, is the age when one begins to "comprehend one's pre-assigned lot in the universe."¹² That is, with half of one's life already gone, one should know what is deficient in it, and if one possesses enough courage, one will endeavour to remedy it. Otherwise one is doomed to travel the beaten track for the remainder of one's life, just as the unnamed traveller does in Frost's "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening"¹³; or just as Yajirobe 彌次郎兵衛 and Kitahachi 喜多八 in Jippensha Ikku's 十返舎一九 *Shank's Mare* (Tokaidoju Hizakurige 東海道中膝栗毛), though these last are fortunate enough to be ignorant.¹⁴

At the age of fifty Faust finds himself disgusted with books and learning. Even though "These ten years long, with many woes, I've led my scholars by the nose,"¹⁵ he actually "stand[s] no wiser than before."¹⁶ This discovery makes him realize that the life he has led so far is only a theoretical one crystallized from other people's experience. Such experience may be important as guidance or reference but constitutes only one aspect of life. To complete the fulness of his life he

needs another aspect, the aspect of personal involvement and immersion in life, not based on analytic rationality but on emotional sensuality, the longing for which is revealed by Faust to Mephistopholes:

Let us the sensual deeps explore,
To quench the fervors of glowing
 passion!
Let every marvel take form and fashion
Through the impervious veil it wore!
Plunge we in Time's tumultuous dance,
In the rush and roll of Circumstance!
Then may delight and distress,
And worry and success,
Alternately follow, as best they can:
Restless activity proves the man!

....
But thou hast heard, It is not of joy
 we're talking.
I take the wildering whirl, enjoyment's
 keenest pain,
Enamored hate, exhilarant disdain.
My bosom, of its thirst for knowledge
 sated,
Shall not, henceforth, from any pang
 be wrested,
And all of life for all mankind created
Shall be within inmost being tested:
The highest, lowest forms my soul
 shall borrow,
Shall heap upon itself their bliss and
 sorrow,
And thus, my own sole self to all their
 selves expanded,
I too, at last, shall with them all be
 stranded!¹⁷

The sensual experience (or the so-called "high" experience) to which Faust aspires is possible only through the marvelous services of Mephistopheles, a fact which partly accounts for Faust's pact with Mephistopheles.¹⁸

T'ang Ao's awakening process is very similar to that of Faust, though their attitudes toward academic life are certainly different. For his first fifty years T'ang Ao is engaged in

preparing for and taking in the Imperial Examinations,¹⁹ success in which means to most Chinese scholars worldly power and social prestige. During the times when there is no examination he enjoys himself travelling on funds provided by his family. However, when he finally passes the Palace Examination, he fails to achieve the success expected from an official career because he is suspected of being involved in the Rebellion. The shock to him is immense, but it also provides him with an occasion to examine his past. Perhaps at this juncture he is awakened to an awe-struck discovery that his past lacks roots, roots that can only grow out of his own actual experience of life. Whereas Faust complements the totality of life by the service of Mephistopheles, T'ang will undergo the trial of a semi-symbolic voyage to cultivate those roots, accompanied by his brother-in-law, Lin Chih-yang (林之洋) and an old helmsman called To Chiu-kung (多久公).

These two guides serve him as Virgil does Dante.²⁰ It may not be an exaggeration to say that T'ang's success is largely a result of the help and guidance of his two companions, just as the success of a play depends on the cooperation of manager, poet, and comic character in the "Prelude of the Theater."²¹ In a way the three form a triad, all being indispensable to one another.

Lin, a merchant by trade as well as the ship-owner, is profit-and-reality oriented. It is he who satisfies T'ang's material needs by providing him with food and accommodation on the ship. Again it is he who provides comic relief through his wit or humorous behaviour, just as Miller²² or Piggy²³ does. In addition, he occasionally becomes an ironic instrument of the author by

arriving unconsciously at the author's real meaning. For instance, when the frustrated T'ang returns from the Capital and plans to join his brother-in-law's trading voyage, Lin blurts out: "I think the reason why Empress Wu allowed you to win the rank of Tan-hua (探花)²⁴ is primarily because once it happened that all the flowers following her order bloomed at one moment. As a result she sent for you to seek further information on flowers."²⁵ But Lin's climactic performance occurs in the Country of Women (女兒國) where he is chosen as the Imperial Consort and undergoes the ordeal of foot-binding and ear-piercing, thus giving rise to numerous articles concerning Chinese women's emancipation and the art of the novel.

Unlike Lin, To serves as a kind of mentor to T'ang at a higher level. His function somewhat resembles that of Marlowe to Jim²⁶ or of Parson Adams to Joseph.²⁷ As the helmsman of the ship, he symbolically and actually helps T'ang during the voyage by providing clarifying comments or enlightening advice. For instance, when at the Mountain of Eastern Opening (東口山) T'ang and Lin come across a weird-looking animal who baffles them, it is To who comes to the rescue:

It is called the tang-kang. . . . It never appears unless there is prosperity in the land, so I would say that it signifies peace on earth in our time.²⁸

In the Country of Giants, when T'ang is puzzled by the sight of a beggar walking on a rainbow-colored cloud, To again is ready with an explanation:

If a man is open with people, straightforward and honest, he has a rainbow

cloud, but if he is secretive and conniving, he walks on a black cloud. The color of one's cloud changes with one's temper, and so you may find a rich man walking on a black cloud. However, look! Hardly a soul is walking on a black cloud! The people of this country must all be kind-hearted and good-natured doubtless, because they would be ashamed to be seen with a black cloud under their feet, and are proud when they can show off a good-colored cloud. This country is called the Country of Giants. People who don't know think that the people are really giants. Actually, it refers to the largeness of their hearts.²⁹

Throughout the voyage T'ang can verify at first hand what he has learnt from the books. The scope of this verification includes encounters with such strange animals as the "unfilial bird (不孝鳥)," and the "salvia bird (飛涎鳥)"; his eating of such magic plants as "noble meat (肉芝)," "walk-on-air plant (躡空草)," and "vermilion plant (朱草)"; and his contact with and observation of such exotic countries as the Country of Gentlemen (君子國), the Country of Giants (大人國), and the Country of Sexless People (無繼國). One example of T'ang's experience of eating noble meat may suffice to give the reader a sense of the others:

This little man and horse are "noble meat" I didn't know them either until I left the capital, and became interested in ancient theories of health and diet. In an old book I found an item which said, "If a person comes across a little man five to seven inches tall astride a little horse in the mountains, he should eat them. They are called "noble meat." A man who has eaten noble meat will enjoy

longevity, and even become an immortal. . . .³⁰

T'ang's account seems to contain two layers of significance: One is undoubtedly to assert that knowledge will not become genuine until it has undergone the trial of experience. And the other seems to imply ironically that the majority of contemporary Chinese scholars are indiscriminately dedicated to examination orientated study, with only secular wealth and social prestige in view — a trait not unknown in our time. Secondly, the voyage itself gives T'ang an excellent opportunity to sample a variety of human nature, ranging from sublime to degenerate aspects, allegorically externalized in the exotic countries visited by him. When passing through the Country of Gentlemen, the Country of Giants, and the Country of Sexless People, T'ang Ao identifies with the utopian ideals manifested therein.

In the Country of Gentlemen he admires the prevalence of the altruistic spirit in all walks of life, which serves as a satiric comment on the ego-centric mentality rampant in contemporary Chinese society, and simultaneously he discloses his intention to seek social betterment.

What appeals to T'ang most in the Country of Giants is the identity of theory and practice easily and clearly discernible from the color of the cloud one walks on.

Besides altruism and straightforwardness, T'ang also identifies himself with the attitude of the sexless people toward life, as illustrated by his own example and elucidated by To:

No, because their bodies do not corrupt after death, but they come back to

life again after a hundred and twenty years. Thus, their numbers neither increase nor decrease. They think of death as sleep and life as a dream, for well they know that all mortal strife ends in a long sleep. Therefore they don't crave fame and power and personal gain. They know that these things don't last, and that if they succeed in winning them in one life, they will only wake up a hundred and twenty years later to find that they have to struggle for them anew.³¹

Again we know with certainty that such an attitude is merely utopian in nature, for men are born to compete with each other for something within their view, or to strive for something beyond their reach, as is clear both in the *Iliad*³² and in *Faust*. Even though we may be wise enough to realize the transience of life, we will still fight for wealth and fame when the opportunity arises. This trait of human nature is frankly revealed in Lin's remark:

That's easy to say, and, theoretically, I can see that wealth and fame are of dubious value when we think that life is like a fleeting dream. Yet, when I find myself embroiled in a real situation, it is as though I were crazed, and I cannot help becoming excited and engaging in the struggle and the strife. . . .³³

Whereas T'ang admires and seeks to identify with the sublime aspects he encounters, he feels impatience and superior disdain toward the degenerate aspects.³⁴ In the course of the trial there are no graphic and realistic struggles such as we often find in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. Nevertheless, T'ang's immunity from contamination symbolically bespeaks his successful weathering of the trial. Since the trial appears

mostly in the form of direct report, it tends to give one an impression that it lacks the dramatic power arising from "showing" art, as already pointed out by Hu Shih³⁵ and other scholars as well.³⁶ In general I quite agree with Hu's observation, although he applies inappropriately "concrete writing (具體的寫法)" to "showing" and "abstract writing (抽象的寫法)" to "telling."³⁷

As far as dramatic appeal is concerned, one has to confess that Li's *Flowers in the Mirror* is less graphic than Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*,³⁸ except in the section dealing with Lin's ordeal in the Country of Women. Like T'ang, Christian has to undergo the trial of human nature, allegorically manifested in the difficulties he confronts. Aided by unswerving faith he may be able to enter the Celestial City. It is this kind of struggle — physical, mental, and spiritual — concretely and realistically enacted by Christian, which has appealed to audiences from generation to generation. An example of Christian's struggle with the Giant Despair, the owner of Doubting Castle, will suffice for demonstration.

When Christian and Hopeful trespassed upon the grounds of Doubting Castle, the Giant "put them into a very dark dungeon,"³⁹ and, instigated further by his wife, Mrs. Diffidence, he beat them from Wednesday morning until Saturday night. During these three days Christian attempted several times to commit suicide but was consoled and prevented by Hopeful. On Sunday morning⁴⁰ Christian, "as one half amazed, brake out in his passionate speech: 'What a fool, quoth he, thus to lie in a stinking dungeon, when I may as well walk at liberty! I have a key in my bosom, called Promise, that will, I am

persuaded, open any lock in Doubting Castle. . . ."⁴¹ What follows is the vivid description of their hair-breadth escape.⁴² While such comparison reveals differences in dramatic appeal in the two novels,⁴³ we should not therefore ignore the important fact that both authors have different backgrounds, and that both novels follow different conventions. At least it should be understood that whereas *Flowers in the Mirror* is a scholarly novel deeply rooted in Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist traditions, *Pilgrim's Progress* is a proletarian novel based on Puritan tradition.

A final point about the characterization of the *FIM*. Some critics from mainland China complain of Li's lack of depth in character portraiture and psychological development.⁴⁴ To me they seem to have done injustice to *FIM*, and have judged unfairly a novel of satire by the criteria of a novel of represented action, as discussed by Sheldon Sacks in *Fiction and the Shape of Belief*.⁴⁵ Sacks classifies the novel into three types, namely, satire, apologue, and represented action, each having its own criteria for evaluation. The artistic success of a novel of satire does not depend on consistency of characterization but rather on whether it succeeds in achieving its stated end — satire. For instance, Gulliver in Swift's novel is far from being consistent if viewed from his inconsistent attitudes to the king of Lilliput earlier and the king of Brobdingnag later, but that inattention does not therefore diminish its position as a great novel of satire so long as it successfully achieves its avowed end. The same is true of *FIM*, regardless of its lack of depth in characterization and psychological development.

In any event, T'ang's passage through

the gamut of human nature signifies that he has achieved the state of Hinayana. Now he needs to do deeds of benevolence to arrive at the state of Mahayana. And there is no better way to achieve this goal than his voluntary rescue of the twelve incarnated flower spirits in the course of his voyage.

Prior to becoming a Taoist immortal he has to pass the final trial, symbolically manifested by the gathering of all the

kings of the countries so far visited by him, occasioned by the celebration of the thousandth birthday of the king of the Country of the Shaft of Wheels (軒轅國). Then there arises a "divine" storm which serves as a kind of "transformation" to blow him away from the mundane world and into the island of Little P'englai, where he achieves Taoist fairyhood.

NOTES

- ¹ There were few critical reviews on Li's *Flowers in the Mirror* in his own time. Even these few tend to be impressionistic and unsubstantial. Two examples cited from Hu Shih's "Introduction to *Flowers in the Mirror* (p. 403) 鏡花緣的引論," will be sufficient for proof. One is quoted from Mai Ta-pan's 麥大鵬 preface to the 1829 edition of the book: "I had heard about the excellence of Mr. Li Ju-ch'en's *Chin-hua Yuan* for three years. Only in the spring of 1828 when I happened to drop into Mr. Chang Hsieh-tin's 張子燮亭 study was I eventually able to read the whole book. I was so carried away as even to dance with ecstasy. . . ." The other comes from Sun Chih-ch'ang's 孫吉昌 prefatory poem, the rendition of which I take the liberty of borrowing from Terry Siu-han Yip's "Being and Nothingness" in *Flowers in the Mirror: A Reconsideration of Its Mythical and Narrative Structure*;

... For no novelists yesterday
today
Surpass thee in this art . . .
Hearing that paper was already expensive
For the hand-written edition,
And now it is even scarce.
(Thy work) though without legs,
Travels ten thousand miles,
And can be model writers of anecdotes.
From now on, ye should feel satisfied and happy,
For the world has high opinion of thee.

- ² Li Ju-ch'en (c. 1763-83) had little success in his official career. He only passed the county level of the Imperial Examinations. Except for a brief period in which he served as an assistant to a county magistrate in Honan province he led a rather penurious life supported financially by his elder brother Li Ju-huang.

Li is a man of encyclopaedic erudition, specializing particularly in phonology, the knowledge of which bears fruit in *Flowers in the Mirror*. It is generally believed that he labored more than ten years (c. 1810-20) to complete it.

- ³ The content of *Flowers in the Mirror* can be divided into two parts. The first part begins with the celebration of Western Queen Mother's birthday in heaven. The subsequent quarrel between

Lady of the Moon and the Fairy of a Hundred Flowers ensues from the latter's refusal to order all flowers to bloom at one moment. Insignificant as this appears, it turns out to be the "karma" cause paving the way for the incarnation of the Fairy and her ninety-nine subordinate flower spirits as well. Parallel to the descent of the hundred flower spirits to the mundane world runs the descent of the spirit of the Heart-Moon Fox, who replaced her son, T'ang Chung-tung 唐中宗, as the first female emperor (Empress Wu Tse-tien; 684-705) in Chinese history. It is the Empress Wu who, instigated by the Lady of the Moon, commands in a joking tone all the flowers to bloom. This results in the afore-mentioned incarnation. In this manner the mythological elements and historical parts are joined together in the narrative structure and causal-effectual relationship.

T'ang Ao, the father of the incarnated Fairy, disappointed by his failure in getting a governmental post after passing the third level of the Imperial Examinations, decides to take a sea voyage in order to quest for Taoist fairyhood. Accompanied by his brother-in-law Lin 林, and an old helmsman To Chiu-kung 多久公 T'ang visits some thirty exotic and imaginary countries, the narration and description of which constitute the most interesting part of the book.

In the course of the journey T'ang rescues twelve incarnated flower spirits, and thus realizes the prophecy foretold by a Dream Deity at the beginning. After reaching the island of Little P'englai 小蓬來 T'ang never returns but becomes an immortal there.

The second half begins with T'ang Hsiao-shan's (T'ang Ao's daughter) voyage to seek her lost father. However, her endeavor proves to be futile, for she is notified indirectly by her father at Little P'englai that the reunion is possible only after she passes the coming Imperial Examinations. Then follow the Examinations of the hundred flower spirits and the celebrations of their success. Finally some of these spirits together with their husbands and relatives, joined by the force of T'ang loyalists, succeed in overthrowing Empress Wu and restoring T'ang Chung-tung to the throne.

⁴ Cf. *Hu Shih wen-ts'un* 胡適文存 (q. v.), 2: 400-33.

⁵ Cf. *Chinese Narrative: Critical and Theoretical Essays*, ed. Andrew H. Plaks, with a foreword by Cyril Birch (Princeton: Princeton U. P., 1977): 266-305.

⁶ Cf. "Women in the Ching-hua yuan: Emancipation toward a Confucian Ideal," *Journal of Asian Studies* 36.4 (August 1977): 647-660.

⁷ Lu Hsün, *Chung-juo hsiao-shuo shih-lieh* Rpt. (Hong Kong: Hsin-yi ch'u-pan she, 1967): Lin Yu-tang, "Feminist Thought in Ancient China," *Tien Hsia Monthly* 1.2 (September 1935): 127-49; Lin Tai-yi's "Introduction" to her English translation of *Flowers in the Mirror* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U. of California P., 1965) 5-9; Li Ch'ang-chih, "Ching-hua yuan shih-lun," *Hsin Chieh-she*, 2 (November 1955): 55-8; and Hsü Shih-nien, "Lüeh-t'an Ching-hua yuan," *Chung-kuo ku-tien hsiao-shuo* (Peking: Pei-ching ch'u-pan she, 1957) 161-2;

⁸ Brandauer 660.

⁹ In addition to the articles listed above see also the following relevant bibliography:

Kobayashi Mariko, "Kyokaen — Sono fujin mondai to jose'tachi —," *Tokaidagaku kiyo* (kyōyoga-kubu) 7 (1976) 61-79; Ota Tatsuo, "Kyokaen's ko" *Tohogaku*, 48 (July 1974): 57-69; Yuasa Koson, "Kyokaen ni tsuite no oboegake," *Setsurin* 3.8 (August 1951): 25-32, and 3.9 (September 1951): 29-32; Ohara Kazuo, "Shosetsu 'Kyokaen' no motsu tokusei — Toku ni fujin mondai o chushin to shite —," *Matsuyama Shodai ronshu* 17.3 (April 1966): 89-102; Muramatsu Ei, "Ri Jochin to 'Onna no Okoku'," *Mita bungaku* 43.8 (1953): 22-5; Fujibayashi Kocho, "Kyokaen — Onna tenshi to hyakusaijo no hanashi," *Jinbungaku* (Doshisha Daigaku) 9 (February 1953): 130-5; E. C. S. Adkins, "Ching Hua-yuan — China's Gulliver's Travels," *China Society Annual* (1954): 34-7; Nancy Evans, "Social Criticism in the Ch'ing: the Novel Ching Hua-yuan," *Harvard*

Papers on China, 23 (1970): 52-66; Albert R. O'Hara, *The Position of Women in Early China* (Hong Kong: Orient Publishing Co., 1955); H. C. Chang, *Allegory and Courtesy in Spenser: A Chinese View* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh U. P., 1955); Hu Shih, "A Chinese Declaration of the Rights of Women (the Ching-hua yuan of Li Ju-chen)," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, 8.2 (1924): 100-9; Hu Shih, "A Chinese 'Gulliver' on Women's Rights (the Ching-hua yuan)," *People's Tribune*, New Series 7 (1934): 121-7; Kao Hsin-sheng, "Allegory and Satire in Li Ju-chen's Ching-hua yuan," Ph. D. Diss. University of California 1977; Ho Koon-ki T., "Utopianism: A Unique Theme in Western Literature? —A Short Survey on Chinese Utopianism —," *Tamkang Review* 13.1 (Fall 1982): 87-108; Terry Siu-han Yip, "'Being and Nothingness' in Flowers in the Mirror: A Reconsideration of Its Mythical and Narrative Structure," *Asian Culture* 8.3 (Autumn 1985): 64-74; Li Shih, "Wu Tse-t'ien: A Pro-legalist, Anti-Confucian Stateswoman of the T'ang Dynasty," *Chinese Studies in History* 2.4 (Summer 1978): 26-33; Li Chang-chih, "Some Notes in Flowers in the Mirror," *Chinese Literature* 1-2 (January-February 1958): 144-57; and Li Teng-hsin, "A Comparative Study of Gulliver's Travels and Flowers in the Mirror," M. A. Thesis National Taiwan Normal University 1972.

¹⁰ *Macbeth*, V, v, 11. 24-8:

Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage
And then is heard no more: it is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing.

Antony and Cleopatra, IV, xiii, 11. 2-11:

Ant. Sometime we see a cloud that's dragonish;
A vapour sometime like a bear or lion,
A tower'd citadel, a pendent rock,
A forked mountain, or blue promontory
With trees upon 't, that nod unto the world,
And mock our eyes with air: thou hast seen these signs;
They are black vesper's pageants.
Eros. Ay, my lord.
Ant. That which is now a horse, even with a thought
The rack dissimms, and makes it indistinct,
As water is in water.

¹¹ Except when indicated otherwise, the quoted parts of the English version come from Lin Tai-yi's *Flowers in the Mirror* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U. of California P., 1965); the present quotation is found on p. 18. The quoted parts of the original text come from Li Ju-chen's *Ching-hua yuan* (henceforward abbreviated as CHY) (Hong Kong: Chung Hua shu chu, 1965); the present quotation is found on p. 39.

¹² Cf. *The Analects of Confucius*: "五十而知天命."

¹³ Robert Frost, *Complete Poems of Robert Frost* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1949) 275.

¹⁴ Cf. *Shank's Mare*, trans. Thomas Satchell (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1960).

- ¹⁵ Goethe, *Faust*, trans. Bayard Taylor (Garden City, New York: Halcyon House, n. d.), 41-2.
- ¹⁶ Ibid 41.
- ¹⁷ Ibid 93, 94.
- ¹⁸ There is general agreement that Faust's spirit symbolically represents man's spirit, the spirit of incessant striving toward the never-reached absolute. Though he may become idle sometimes and err constantly he will never lose this striving spirit.
- ¹⁹ Professor Lin Lien-hsiang has concluded a thoroughly researched investigation into the relationship between the failure in the Imperial Examinations of some Ch'ing novelists and the creation of their novels in his essay, "Examination Syndrome in Ch'ing Fiction," *Tamkang Review* 15. 1, 2, 3, 4 (1984-5): 495-507.
- ²⁰ Cf. *Divine Comedy*.
- ²¹ *Faust*.
- ²² Geoffrey Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, rendered into modern English by J. U. Nicolson (Garden City, New York: Garden City Publishing Company, Inc., 1934). Consult the sections dealing with the Miller's character sketch in the General Prologue, with his quarrel with the Host in the Prologue, and with his tale of Carpenter John's cuckoldry.
- ²³ Cf. Wu Cheng-en, *Hsi-yu chi* (Journey to the West). Pigsy, a banished marshall of the heavenly hosts, serves as a contrast and complement to Monkey. In the course of the Buddhist pilgrimage they conflict but gradually harmonize with each other in the end.
- ²⁴ The third place at the Palace Examinations is called Tan-hua, literally meaning "looking for flowers."
- ²⁵ The translation is mine. For the original text consult *CHY* 44:
- 俺聞前朝並無探花，這個名號是太后新近取的。據俺看來：太后特將妹夫中個探花，必因當年百花齊放一事，派你去探甚花消息哩。
- ²⁶ Joseph Conrad, *Lord Jim*, ed. Thomas C. Moser (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1968).
- ²⁷ Henry Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, ed. Martin C. Battestin (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961).
- ²⁸ Cf. *FIM* 46; *CHY* 48:
- 此獸名叫「當康」。其鳴自叫。每逢盛世，始露其形。今忽出現，必主天下太平。
- ²⁹ Cf. *FIM* 68-9; *CHY* 91:
- 原來雲的顏色雖有高下，至於或登彩雲，或登黑雲，其色全由心生，總在行為善惡，不在富貴貧賤。如果胸襟光明正大，足下自現彩雲，倘或滿腔奸私暗昧，足下自生黑雲。雲由足生，色隨心變，絲毫不能勉強，所以富貴之人，往往竟登黑夜；貧賤之人，反登彩雲。話雖如此，究竟此間民風淳厚，腳登黑雲的竟是百無一二。蓋以國人皆以黑雲為耻，遇見惡事，都是藏身退後，遇見善事，莫不踴躍爭先；毫無小人習氣，因而鄰邦都以「大人國」呼之。遠方人不得其詳，以為大人國即是長大之義，那知是這緣故。
- ³⁰ Cf. *FIM* 47; *CHY* 51:
- 這個小人小馬，名叫「肉芝」。當日小弟原不曉得。今年從都中回來，無志功名，時常看看古人養氣服食等法，內有一條，言：「行山中如見小人乘著車馬，長五七寸的，名叫「肉芝」，有人吃了，延年益壽，並可了道成仙。
- ³¹ Cf. *FIM* 74; *CHY* 106-7:

彼國雖不生育，那知死後其屍不朽，過了一百二十年，仍舊活轉。古人所謂「百年還化為人」，就是指此而言。所以彼國之人，活了又死，死了又活，從不見少。他們雖知死後還能重生，素於名利心腸倒是雪淡。他因人生在世終有一死，縱讓爭名奪利，富貴極頂，及至「無常」一到，如同一夢，全化烏有。雖說死後還能復生，但經百餘年之久，時遷世變，物改人非，今昔情形，又迥不同，一經活轉，另是一番世界，少不得又要在那名利場中努力一番。及至略略有點意思，不知不覺，却又年近古稀，冥官又來相邀。細細想去，仍是一場春夢。因此他們國中凡有人死了就作「睡覺」，那活在世上的叫作「做夢」。他把生死看的透徹，名利之心也就淡了。

³² The competitive fight in *Iliad* happens not only between Achilles and Hector but also between the two cultures.

³³ Cf. *FIM* 74; *CHY* 107:

俺也曉得，焉人在世，就如做夢，那名利二字原是假的，平時聽人談論，也就冷淡。無奈到了爭名奪利關頭，心裏不由就覺發迷，倒像自己永世不死，一味朝前奔命。

³⁴ Some aspects can be easily comprehended by the connotation of the names of the countries, such as the Country of Two-faced People and the Country of Little People; some are only comprehensible to the Chinese reader, not to the Westerner except with the help of the background explanation. For instance, the Country of Dog-headed People is epicurean; and the Country of Intestineless People is stingy and merciless. Some baffle both the Chinese and the Western, such as the Country of Winged People (who like flattery), and the Country of Pig's-snout People (who love lying).

³⁵ Cf. "An Introduction to *FIM*."

³⁶ Cf. Kobayashi Mariko, "Kyokaen — Sono fujin mondai to josei'tachi," pp. 63-4: Ohara Kazuo, "Shosetsu 'Kyokaen' no motsu tokusei — Toku ni fujin mondai o chushin to shite," 91.

³⁷ Cf. Hu 416' 415.

³⁸ *The Pilgrim's Progress*, introduced by Rev. H. Elvet Lewis (London & New York: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd. and E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1907). Both are rich in imagination, and are thematically concerned with "LIFE AS JOURNEY." While the plot of *Pilgrim's Progress* is framed in a dream, the plot of *FIM* is motivated to a great extent by a dream. Both heroes have guides to help them tide over the difficulties they encounter.

³⁹ Ibid 134.

⁴⁰ Bunyan seems to pattern his work on Jesus' crucifixion and resurrection, lasting four days.

⁴¹ Ibid 139-40.

⁴² Ibid 140.

⁴³ The comparison also helps one understand the reason why Swift's "Voyage to Lilliput" is more appealing than the "Voyage to Brobdingnag." Cf. *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. Robert A. Greenberg (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1970).

⁴⁴ Li Ch'ang-chih, "Ching-hua yuan shih lun," *Hsin chien-she*, II (November 1955) 57; "Fu lun Jing-hua yuan," *Zhong guo wen xue shi gao* (Ging ji jin dai bu fen)," ed. Ji Lin Da Xue zhong wen xi zhong guo wen xue shi jiao cai bian xie xiao zu (Nagoya: Cai Hua shu lin, 1959), 124.

⁴⁵ (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U. of California P., 1964).

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Tai Hou-ying, Feng Chi-ts'ai, and Ah Ch'eng: Three Approaches to the Historical Novel

David D. W. Wang

(王德威)

Despite unrelenting political interference, mainland Chinese fiction of the last ten years has managed to bloom with remarkable vigor and variety. As more and more of these works are introduced abroad, "literature of the wounded" (a popular term referring to the bulk of literature on the atrocities of the Cultural Revolution) has become an outdated expression, too general to differentiate many intricate changes taking place over the past decade. Overseas researchers on mainland Chinese literature have so far grasped only part of the phenomenon, partly due to the tremendous amount of works yet to be studied, and partly due to the ever changing relations between government policy and literary practice. Nevertheless, there must be some irony that mainland Chinese science fiction and crime fiction have been discussed as new burgeoning genres,¹ while the resurgence of the historical novel still remains a nearly untouched topic.

Mainland Chinese writers' revived interest in the historical novel merits attention, not only because the historical novel enjoys a long prestige in Chinese fiction, classical or modern, but especially because "History" *per se* has all along

been sanctioned by the communist government as a holy text, prefiguring China's fate in its socialist millennium. For writers who survived the Cultural Revolution, working on the historical novel means not just a recapitulation of a time-honored fictional tradition. More, a novel could easily be turned into a political move, taking issues with the discrepancies between what should have happened and what did happen in the past three decades, uncovering ideological gaps where official historiography tried to suppress them, and most importantly, relocating history and the formal adequacy of the historical novel to carry out such a mission.

In this paper, I shall lay out a preliminary reading of three writers' works, which in one way or another demonstrate the new possibilities of the mainland Chinese historical novel. Tai Hou-ying's 戴厚英 *Man Ah! Man* 人啊!人 (1981) and *Death of A Poet* 詩人之死 (1982), both highly controversial for their pronounced advocacy for a "new humanism," examine the absurdities and pains caused by the Cultural Revolution, and question the bottomline of the meaning of Marxist history. The second novel, depicting

a writer's fatal struggle to save the manuscripts of his epic poem, at a time when personal interpretation of history was condemned as treason, is particularly noteworthy for its meditation on a writer's position vis à vis the elusiveness of History, and on the legitimacy of literature as a substitute for historiography.

Feng Chi-ts'ai 馮驥才 impresses one with fiction launched in two directions. On the one hand, he has written a series of novels on late Ch'ing political events, with the intention to dig out the roots of problems modern China has since suffered from. On the other hand, he has compiled in fictional form individual interviews and confessions on the Cultural Revolution. While the former is written in a way reminiscent of the format of classical Chinese historical novel, the latter, with its accumulation of personal accounts, adds a new facet to the conventional type of historical fiction. Juxtaposed, these two forms of fiction undercut and complement each other's aesthetic assumptions and historical sources, thereby building a truly intertextual polemic.

The third writer, Ah Ch'eng 阿城, ironically winning most acclaim among Taiwan and overseas readers, has distinguished himself in a handful of novellas and short stories about the Cultural Revolution. Unlike most fellow writers, he has an ability to evoke a mythical rhythm, sometimes with a touch of lyrical pathos, where pain and horror in reality tempt a writer's most sentimental response. Beyond immediate concerns with political struggles or individual vicissitudes, he elicits from his historical vision the quasi-philosophical parallel of man's condition with a game, as evinced by

his most celebrated *Chess King* 棋王 (1984). History is seen less as a linear procession toward a telos than as an arena in which all sorts of possibilities compete with one another.

In both Western and Chinese fiction, the historical novel has long been a major genre, and its popularity may well be derived from its rather "resilient" orientation to both fiction and history. Generally, we apply the term to works which interweave real and/or fictional characters and episodes into a historical context that calls for the reader's thoughtful attention. Such a type of novel renders a historical sense not only by referring to factual evidence like names, dates, and social manners of a given period, but also by arousing the reader's interest in speculating on the meaning of a given event and on the general historical dynamics possibly conceived in the text.

A definition like this, understandably, can serve only as a tentative one and needs to be further qualified. Immediately coming to mind are problems concerning the conditions under which a *certain kind* of narrative sequence is made an intelligible account of past events, the endless interaction between language and arguable "reality", hence between fiction and history, and the mutual illumination between historiography and historical fiction in thematics, narrative typology, and ideological motivation.² With its limited length, this paper will not pursue these issues in detail, but will refer to them whenever necessary.

For all its deficiencies in artistic and ideological sophistication, the new trend of the mainland Chinese historical novel could be read and appreciated in the context of a "historical discourse"

underlying both modern and premodern Chinese fiction. Without exhausting its complexity, a brief review of the issue will help prepare for my later argument.

As pointed out by many scholars, the central role of historiography must be stressed in any study of classical Chinese fiction, not only because a large portion of the corpus of the Ming-Ch'ing fiction can be called historical fiction either in terms of its central figures or of its documentary sources, but also because "it continues to draw upon 'official' historiography for a variety of formal and structural devices."³ Since history plays such a pivotal role in prefiguring the meaning of fiction, one can practically describe a verisimilar norm in classical Chinese fiction that requires both the author and reader to treat a story, be it realistic or fantastic, as a 'meaningful' account of history. In Plaks' words, "the sense that what is recorded is ultimately true — either true to fact or true to life — remains a fundamental underpinning," in both the historical and fictional branches of the Chinese narrative tradition.⁴

Western influences on Chinese historical novel became discernible in late Ch'ing period, as evinced by Tseng P'u's 曾樸 efforts to cast the figures and plots of *A Flower in the Sea of Sins* 孽海花 à la Hugo and Balzac. But it was the next several generations of writers who came to master the narrative and conceptual typology of nineteenth century European historical novels. Granting varied ideological preoccupations (which in cases like Marxist fiction often end up prescribing a new universal consciousness), they by and large endorse a mode of writing best demonstrated by writers like Scott and Tolstoy, a

mode that calls for fictional characters undergoing and giving expression to the impact which the historical events had upon people living through them, with the result that a bygone age is given in personal and immediate terms.⁵ Prominent examples along this tradition can be found in works by Mao Tun 茅盾 (*Rainbow* 虹, *Midnight* 子夜), Li Chi-jen 李劫人 (*Big Waves* 大波), Chiang Kuei 姜貴 (*Whirlwind* 旋風, *The Two Suns* 重陽), Ting Ling 丁玲 (*The Sunshine over the Sang-kan River* 太陽照在桑乾河上), Yang Mo 楊沫 (*The Song of Youth* 青春之歌), to say nothing of Tai Hou-ying.

Nevertheless, one of the precepts of classical Chinese fiction, that fiction serves, at its best, as an extension of historical accounts, generalizing the "meaningfulness" of lived human experience, appears even more reinforced among post-May-Fourth practitioners of the historical novel. Seen in this light, "obsession with China," C. T. Hsia's well known description of modern Chinese fiction,⁶ should be understood both as a period preoccupation and as a sign of writers' continued and amplified conviction that fiction's moral bearings help transmit and explain history as it is. More so, as the nation's political crises grew increasingly urgent, writers were bent on writing historical novels to render not just a fuller but also ideologically more strident version of reality, in protest against official historiography, so much so that Průšek, with Mao Tun in mind, is led to observe a special style characteristic of modern Chinese historical novels, a style that intertwines a compelling sense of historical forces on the move with an eagerness to chronicle the most recent events with a journalistic immediacy.⁷

Because modern Chinese historical novels are so closely and constantly bound up with immediate political and moral demands, they draw our attention to the limited latitude history and historical fiction enjoy in reaction to ideological and political dynamics. Particularly pertinent to our current study are leftist historical novelists' experiences over the past several decades. Whereas the young Mao Tun in the 1930's — a period relatively more open to dialogues on history — committed the historical novel to registering "reality" when official historiography allegedly failed to do so, a converted Ting Ling, after Mao's talks on literature and the arts in Yen-an, produced a novel like *The Sunshine over the Sang-kan River*, only to submit to a Marxist historical myth at the expense of tangible fact.

As I-tsi Feuerwerker forcefully argues, insofar as traditional historiography and Communist fiction share the notion that truth is what is consensual or officially sanctioned, "it is tempting to see the Marxist novel's claim to be contemporary history as a return, albeit with difference, to the Chinese narrative tradition in which historiography served as the central model of narration."⁸ Two decades after Mao Tun and his peers launched their attacks on the metaphysical absolutism embedded in traditional historical and historiographical assumptions, the old belief that official historiography is approximate "reality" has sneaked back in communist guise, now with more severe demands than ever that fiction should be an approximation not of history but of the "official" account of History. Added to this observation, moreover, is the more chilling fact that the fickle modern

partyline might reclassify an erstwhile "authentic" historical fiction as a distortion of the "updated" version of history, and that a writer might be forced to give up or repeatedly revise his work at the latest Party command. For writers like Ouyang Shan 歐陽山 (*One Generation of Noble Souls* 一代風流), and Yao Hsüeh-yin 姚雪垠 (*Li Tzu-ch'eng* 李自成), who underwent two decades of governmental interventions before their epic novels were completed, history and "(re)writing" about history have become too intermingled to be distinguished from each other.

I

It is under such circumstances that Tai Hou-ying's two novels deserve serious attention. *Man Ah! Man*, a novel spanning two decades from the anti-rightist movement in the fifties to the downfall of the Gang of Four, proposes to reassess the position of individual responsibility in the Cultural Revolution, the interrelation between personal ideal and arbitrary historical destiny, and the fate of individual human nature in a mass-oriented society. Both its audacious cry for humanism and its flawed experiment with the mode of psychological novel have been widely discussed,⁹ but critics have so far stressed very little the novel's extensive concern with history in its own right, which in effect propels the novel's nonconformist motion on both formal and conceptual levels.

Man Ah! Man is a historical novel not simply because it traces a group of intellectuals' mistaken historical judgment, blind faith, cowardice and betrayal, and painful reawakening in the past twenty years, subject which is only too commonly shared by writers

since 1978 under the banner of "literature of the wounded." It excels other fiction of the same kind by a claim to rethink history itself in ideological and philosophical terms. Tai Hou-ying's questions are simple yet powerful: If history, according to Mao and Marx, is a prewritten holy text, leading toward a socialist paradise, how are we going to justify the mistaken development in the past three decades? Is it a painful but necessary detour before the great turn comes? Is it a miscalculation on the part of the leadership? Or was it just a bad joke from the beginning? "History! We have all been made fools by you!" (57),¹⁰ sighs one character in the novel.

By raising these questions, Tai Hou-ying already merits applause. But stunning as her skepticism on the official definition of history may first appear, her answers turn out to be very weak. This is, however, due not so much to visible censorship as to her own unwitting endorsement of a theoretical framework she sets out to demolish. At the core of the novel lurks a dilemma she can hardly solve: whether History is a composite of lived experiences, directed toward a teleological end — Marxist Humanism or not, or is but an individual interpretation of the real in flux, subject to revisable ideological and perceptual assumptions. Tai Hou-ying must have relished the possibility of a "pluralized" vision of history, as indicated by the caption of the novel's first part: "every human being has a history stored up in his mind and it is active in many diverse ways." Yet as her theory of Marxist Humanism is gradually given shape, she harks back to, rather than get rid of (as might have been expected), a total Idea that calls for a reconciliation

between past and future, individual and Mass, history and History.

Even so, Tai Hou-ying's efforts to multiply the meaning of history has left traces on her narrative strategy. Discontent with the traditional realist discourse which, with its omniscient narratorial voice, coherent time sequence, and cause-to-effect plotting, tends to generalize complicated individual and national history, she introduces seven I-narrators, including one named "the Author," each telling his or her story and judgment of the past, in a rotating order. The confessional mode of narrative must have sounded familiar yet strange to mainland readers at the same time, as it has been well practiced by everybody in a broader social context of public self-criticism, even if mostly it was done against personal wishes. History thus conceived implies a (re)collection of incomplete memories, piecemeal evidence, personal prejudices, psychological and ideological motives, all defining and undercutting one another. In addition, each narrator's own story too undergoes self-contradiction and modification, as his or her view on the past is continuously affected by new events and references.

Accordingly, history is seen variously as "a cunning, grotesque trickster" (2), a machine of moral retribution (63), a reflector of reality (11), a broken photograph (50), fragile evidence to be treasured for the Judgment to come (24), a strange power turning everybody upside down (37), and, of course, a Book handed down by Marx, Engels, and Mao. While the divergent versions of history meet to constitute the most polemical part of the novel, hence tantalizing us with a possible heteroglossia,¹¹ there gradually arises in the

novel an idealistic vision, anticipating a compromise among disagreements and conflicts on the basis of "respect for human dignity and individual opinions." In Tai Hou-ying's terminology, such a vision is called Marxist Humanism.

Confronted with Western Marxist theoreticians' long and painstaking arguments on humanism, Tai Hou-ying's idea, at best, sounds rudimentary. What concerns us most at this point, nevertheless, is how such a theoretical thrust lends its constraining power to the novel's debates on history. As mentioned above, the novel's multiple narratorial voices seem to promise a truly historical divergence of viewpoints. Ironically, as Tai Hou-ying tries to harmonize such a dialogical tendency in the name of humanism, she ends up closing off further dynamics. Insisting that "human nature" has always been hidden "there", in both Marxist texts and History (354), waiting to be rediscovered by the chosen ones, she celebrates a brand of humanism as if it were a long lost golden mean. Her characters, however much they superficially disagree, are made to move privately toward the same goal. By the end of the novel, all personal histories converge in a patently Marxist-Hegelian fashion, welcoming the preordained second return of History.

Tai Hou-ying thus wishfully suspends all the doubts she threw upon history in the novel's beginning. Her optimistic humanism looms ever larger in the novel's last part, to the point where it becomes an easy label applicable to both radicals and conservatives. Nor does she ever hesitate to pay her homage to romantic literature. What can be ideologically more emphatic, and more ambiguous, too, than to see our hero, when exiled, contemplating the ultimate fusion of

Marxism and humanism with only two works in his hands, the *Dream of Red Chamber* and the *Complete Works of Marx*? Nevertheless, despite the happy reconciliation reached at the novel's end, the menace of History hangs around, even escaping the author's attention. As Michael Duke has pointed out, Tai stumbled into an unintended but poignant irony when she eagerly let her hero quote a passage from Marx's *German Ideology* in defense of his (and her) "dangerous" humanist theory, only to reveal the embarrassing "historical" fact that the same passage had been used as a spiritual slogan during the Great Leap Forward, a movement that brought about the suicide of the hero's uncle and the starvation to death of the rest of his family (282-283).¹²

By resorting to a simple belief in the worth of individual ideas and ideals in a totalitarian state, Tai Hou-ying's novel does bespeak a moral integrity long suppressed among mainland Chinese intellectuals. But in her effort to rationalize not only what has happened but also what is going to happen, she has not done away with the lure of totalizing human experience at the cost of its built-in divergence, therefore not advancing far from the historical concept she criticizes. As she would have it, when Marxist Humanism takes effect, even villains concede an endorsement of the Humanist way in the privacy of their own minds. The novel's double-tongued historical view can no better be summarized than by Tai Hou-ying's own words: "This kind of weather must be regarded as *normal*: sunrise in the east, rain in the west; you think it will not clear up yet it is clearing" (275, emphasis mine).¹³ Is the course of history "normal" because it allows

conflicting perspectives to coexist, without any preestablished destiny, or because it absorbs and "rehabilitates" all differences, at whatever cost?

Tai Hou-ying's second novel, *Death of a Poet*, was actually written one year prior to *Man Ah! Man*. The delay of its publication was caused by its abundant references to topics yet controversial in party politics. Compared with *Man Ah! Man*, the novel reveals more details as to what happened in the Cultural Revolution, so much as to partake of the style of journalistic immediacy evoked by Mao Tun's works half a century before. Written with the scope of a typical nineteenth century Tolstoyan novel, it tells of three intellectual women's ideological pilgrimage, their successes and frustrations, as well as their ensuing emotional ups and downs. Standing at the center of all action is our Prometheus-like hero, who was condemned for refusing to turn in a manuscript of a long poem describing the past of his old boss, presumably a fictional combination of Liu Shao-ch'i and P'eng Te-huai.

Though Tai Hou-ying apologizes for its rather traditional narrative format, the novel appears nonetheless a powerful testimonial to artists' and intellectuals' sufferings in jails and cadre schools under Maoist rule. Again, she manages to inspire us with something other than a mere reportage of betrayals, physical and intellectual abuses, and injustices. Beyond all these issues, she raises the question of our understanding of history: the eternal strain between writing and reality, poetry (literature) and historiography.

The poet is persecuted because he wrote a fatal poem, titled "Endlessly Flows the Yangtze" 不盡長江滾滾流,

which has cost his wife's suicide and their children's disgrace. But, instead of giving up or revising the manuscript at the "People's" demand, he continues to write and expand it. This determination leads directly to dramatic conflict. Whereas writing and completing the poem soon become the collective wish of the poet's close fellow prisoners and his new lover, a convinced and thus condemned Party official, the search for the manuscript on the Party side simply amounts to an obsession, leading from one purge to another. At one point, the manuscript is confiscated by local Party officials, yet the poet manages to piece together what he remembers in his mind, with the assistance of his new lover and friends — easily one of the most touching scenes in the novel's romantic vein.

Ironically enough, for all the disputes over history, the heroes and villains share a common conviction of the immanence of History as well as Writing about History. In fact, one of the most important motifs in the novel is writing: almost everybody is busy writing, secret confessions, self criticisms, family histories, overheard secrets, conspiratorial strategies, ideological conversions and reconversions, indictments and verdicts. When all written sources are piled up, contradicting one another and therefore complicating a presumably clear historical course, we no longer find easy access to the "truth" everybody is proclaiming or paying lip service to.

Writing itself, either as a graphic text charged with information or as an act of communication, however, never becomes a problem for either the Party or the poet. As it were, in like manner they pursue a goal of "pure" writing that should be an immaculate

manifestation of both partyline and History. Accordingly, the Party wants to destroy the manuscript because they believe that the poem will subvert the authenticity of History, and the poet holds out because he believes that his work will outlast all temporary injustice and irrationalities, bearing witness to what "really" has happened.

Tai Hou-ying's novel, in this sense, is presenting an intriguing paradox. She sets out to describe a poet who wants to write a "super" poem, a poem subsuming all other literature and transcending all linguistic and ideological barriers, in a historical context where writing in all forms has proven to be just as vulnerable as it is unreliable. And the novel, in its own turn, is a self-proclaimed practice for the same cause. It is from here that we discern a revival of Mao Tun's and other early leftist writers' conviction that literature (poetry) is obligated to fulfill a duty of telling the historical truth when official historiography is untrustworthy. Yet the irony indicated here is only too clear: Mao Tun and his peers were writing in anticipation of the eventual coherence of literary and historical texts in a new communist era. How come, forty years after Mao's rule, the gap between the poet's fictitious yarn and the government's story has yet remained unbridgeable?

By the end of the novel, the poet chooses death to protect his and poetry's integrity. When he takes a silent farewell to his sleeping lover and children and turned on the gas in the kitchen, the novel reaches its tragic climax. The poem, left unfinished, says more than a poem completed only to express the partyline. At a time when too many writers were driven to death in the most

tragic manner, a peaceful suicide at home turned ironically to be a romantic wish-fulfillment. Still, such a sad moment reveals some self-doubt lurking in Tai Hou-ying's novel, questioning the ultimate possibility of rendering history in a complete written form. The novel itself, after all, manages only to tell a story about the impossible dream of writing; allegorically, what happened *to* literature has become what happens *in* literature. One character announces at the novel's end that, the poem's title, "Endlessly Flows the Yangtze," will serve as a general title for poems and "fictions" *yet to be written* by all people surviving the Cultural Revolution. Will they, or can they, ever be written? Even if so, will they have to tell the same story? In any case, history can only be reconstructed by fragmentary memories and drafts; the complete version of it both Tai Hou-ying and her poet are seeking after is simply an ideal kept "latent" forever.

II

Feng Chi-ts'ai is one of the most productive mainland writers in post-Cultural-Revolution literature. He first made his fame by a series of short stories and novellas like "Ah!" 啊 and "Carved Pipe" 雕花烟斗, which were undeservedly praised by wishful translators and critics. His experiments with the historical novel over the past decade, however, demonstrate two distinct directions meriting our attention: on the one hand, he turns back to the repository of classical Chinese historical novels for narrative and thematic devices, thereby producing a series of novels on the late Ch'ing period; on the other,

he is engaged in editing personal accounts of the Cultural Revolution in a very systematic way, aiming to endow reportage literature with the magnitude of historiography.

In contrast to Tai Hou-ying, who sees and explores history in its immediate terms, Feng Chi-ts'ai contends that what happened to China in recent decades has its long roots traceable as far back as to the late Ch'ing period. Any approach to contemporary Chinese history presupposes a recollection and reassessment of the past that is too complicated and painful to be ignored.

Chinese Communist fiction and drama have a long genealogy of reading and writing on classical figures and events to suit a certain political message. Mao Tun's "Ta-tzu Hsiang" 大澤鄉, Kuo Mo-jo's 郭沫若 *Hu Fu* 虎符, T'ien Han's 田漢 *Hsieh Yao-huan* 謝瑤環, Wu Han's 吳晗 *Hai-pai Pakuan* 海瑞罷官, and Yao Hsueh-yin's *Li Tzu-ch'eng* 李自成 are only the most prominent examples, to say nothing of Lao She's *Shen-ch'uan* 神拳, a play on the Boxer Rebellion. While some works succeeded in making interesting juxtaposition of past and present, the ghosts of the past, once called back to life, may in their turn set a suspicious reflection on the present, causing the writers endless trouble. The cases of Lao She and T'ien Han are still fresh in our memory. Feng Chi-ts'ai is working in this tradition, and thus has to share with his predecessors the same potential to elicit threatening historical parallels.

The Boxers 義和拳, cowritten with Li Ting-hsing 李定興, was published in 1977, right in the days of the downfall of the Gang of the Four. A historical novel in its most "standard" sense, it tells of the uprising and failure of

the Boxers from 1898 to 1900, with the invasion by the eight foreign armies as its climax. Feng puts his focus particularly on a group of Boxers from a small town, Tu-liu 獨流, in southern Ho-pei, detailing the major heroes' proletarian origins, their sufferings under local Christian-landlords and foreign missionaries, and their eventual rise at the call of rebellion against imperialist foreigners. Our heroes are later joined by followers all over northern China and, after the Ch'ing government fails to put them down, they are instead "invited" to T'ien-tsin to protect the city from impending foreign invasion. As the eight-hundred-and-fifty page novel drags on, the Boxers heroically fight one battle after another against foreign devils. That their final catastrophe should happen is due not so much to the foreigners' evil power as to the incompetence of the government army and the "bad elements" among themselves.

Feng Chi-ts'ai and his cowriter had reportedly done meticulous research before writing *The Boxers*. But given correct names, dates, and other verifiable details, the novel is no more than an amateur costume drama, put on in a way only to entertain some ideological formula. While the novel's defects are only too obvious, it does not follow that Feng and his partner fail to contribute anything new to the communist trend of the historical novel. Faced with incompatibilities between historical sources and ideological constraint, they have a lot of holes to fill in, contradictions to even out; how they "emplot" history to serve a specific purpose is never a dull thing to observe. Precisely because censorship calls for fiction's "correct" interpretation of

history, writers' imaginations are in just as high demand as proper ideology. For Feng Chi-ts'ai and his partner, inspiration derives mainly from such classical Chinese novels as the *Water Margin* 水滸傳.

To see *The Boxers* as a Marxist version of the *Water Margin* is admittedly a coarse comparison. But without stretching the analogy at the expense of every obvious difference between the two, one could say that Feng Chi-ts'ai and Li Ting-hsing owe their modes of characterization and plotting significantly to the classical masterpiece. The heroes in *The Boxers* are driven to join the Boxers because they are wronged either by the government or by local villains. They develop a deep fraternal friendship which amounts to personal sacrifice for the welfare of the mass. Their worship for masculine power goes so far as to endorse an ethical and sexual quarantine against the female. Some characters are even modelled after the well known figures in the *Water Margin*, like Wu Yung 吳用, Li K'uei 李奎, and Sung Chiang 宋江. Most important of all, the Boxers too act as if carrying out a certain apocalyptic cause, anticipating the establishment of a Utopia, which, superficially, is to be appreciated in a communist light. By contrast, the government officials, generals, missionaries, and Chinese Christians are described either as clowns or as stereotyped villains.

The last thirty chapters of the *Water Margin* play an especially important role in the formation of the theme and plot of *The Boxers*. As the heroes have organized followers into a formidable power, the government is forced to acknowledge their existence. And not just this, the Compress Dowager and

aristocrats even "beg" the Boxers to defend the country from the foreigners' attack, and our heroes come to a reluctant cooperation with the government only in the name of "serving the people" — all the previous complex motives of the brothers of the *Water Margin* have therefore been dropped. The parallel in subsequent plot development holds, though. Just as their predecessors were sent to fight barbarian invaders, so do the Boxers wage a holy war against the foreign imperialist armies. Both are fighting an impossible war, not only because the enemies were strong but also because the government was waiting to cut them up from the rear. However, whereas the heroes in the *Water Margin* are defeated to meet the last strike of their tragic fate, the Boxers sacrifice themselves for a nobler future; their rise and downfall have to be considered a painful but important stage for the coming of political consciousness to the masses.

Feng and Li's way of dealing with their subject gives rise to several questions concerning the intricate relation between history and fiction. Abiding by Chinese communist interpretations,¹⁴ the writers work hard to justify the Boxers' campaign as a heroic deed, a historical necessity, and a "victory" to be proven by the unfolding of Time. Ideological motivation notwithstanding, at stake is the paradox that as the "historical fact" about the Boxer Rebellion is uncovered, it sounds like a remake of a classic "historical fiction."

Also evident is Feng and his partner's intention to cast the Boxers in a historical position that the subsequent Communist revolutionaries would take over. Thus they feel obliged to explain away the Boxers' notoriety for

superstition, technological naïveté, and internecine violence. Our heroes are never superstitious; gossipmongers have maligned their stubborn belief in the People's power as such. They would have fought foreigners with more advanced arms, had the government given them any in support. The orthodox Boxers never disagree with each other; it is only bad elements and spies who have sullied their reputation. Historical fiction and fictional history merge at this point.

What adds more twists to our survey is the historical context in which Feng Chi-ts'ai and Li Ting-hsing were writing their novel. By telling the story of the Boxer Rebellion from the Boxers' side, Feng and Li might or might not have succeeded in turning round the table, depending on the degree to which readers were convinced by them. But they have surely left a door open for those who would see the novel in a broader historical light — mainland Chinese literary criticism itself has taught us all too well how to read a text against the ever-changing political context. Published amid the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution,¹⁵ the novel does not salvage the images of the Boxers so much as set up a very ambiguous analogy between the past and present. Who are, after all, most comparable to the Boxers, if not certain participants in the Cultural Revolution? And in what ways — especially the ones emphasized by erasure — are they all too much like the Boxers?

In praise of the proto-communist awareness of the Boxers, the novel implies no less an ironic critique of the danger an overheated mass movement might cause. The Boxer Uprising never saved China, nor did the Cultural Revolution. Wrestling with a highly controversial

historical event, Feng Chi-ts'ai and Li Ting-hsing did not produce a communist *Water Margin*. Instead, thanks to overt ideological adherence and almost contrived anachronism, they made *The Boxers* one of the first full-length allegories of 1977, throwing doubts, however unwittingly, on the historical significance of the two mass movements, the Boxer Rebellion and the Cultural Revolution.

Feng Chi-ts'ai obviously has taken great interest in the materials of the Boxer Rebellion. As late as in 1981, he wrote another novel, *Magic Lantern, an Overture* 神燈前傳, on women Boxers' activities, carrying the same message as did its "male" counterpart five years previous. Since then, he has switched to study late Ch'ing social abuses and injustices in a manner reminiscent of exposé fiction at the turn of this century. Under the general title, *Grotesque Tales from a Strange World* 怪世奇談, his ongoing project will contain four volumes, each dedicated to one crucial period in the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty. Judging by what has been published, Feng Chi-ts'ai has much restrained his didactic intention and shown more concern with individual characters and actions. Still, serious criticism should be reserved till the whole work is finished.

In the past three years, Feng Chi-ts'ai has also been engaged in another ambitious book, titled, *One Decade, One Hundred People* 一百個人的十年. It represents one of the recent examples of combining the genres of reportage literature and historical fiction. Though, again, the novel is unfinished and will not be directly treated here, some preliminary observations as to how such an attempt came about will be

made as follows.

As the title suggests, *One Decade, One Hundred People* is a "novel", composed of a hundred short stories on the most painful decade in mainland Chinese history. For Feng Chi-ts'ai, the Cultural Revolution is so complicated a subject that it takes not one but at least one hundred accounts and viewpoints to deal with it. The concept of a novel matters here because only when all the stories are seen as parts of a coherent thematic and narrative matrix can one come to grips with the deep historical pathos Feng Chi-ts'ai tries to convey. Feng's pseudo-sociological format also helps avoid foregrounding a few "heroes and heroines. In fact, permeated with confessions of mutual humiliation, brutal violence, and betrayal, this novel is bound to overshadow the myth of heroes and hero worship prevalent in *The Boxers* and in other mainland Chinese literature of the same category. It is the communion in sin and suffering that substantiates the basic spirit of the work.

The project may be associated for us with Chang Hsin-hsin's 張辛欣 (assisted by Sang Yeh 桑曄) reportage book, *People in Peking* 北京人 (1984), which also collects one hundred interviews with individuals from different social strata and age groups. Of course, at the origin of this kind of Chinese literature is Mao Tun's stupendous work, *One Day in China, May 21, 1936* 中國的一日, 1936, 5, 21.¹¹ All share the idea of reaching a panoramic view of reality by letting people from different strata express themselves in the most direct manner. As writers, their only work is to "transcribe" and put together what they have got, as unobtrusively as possible. Mao Tun invited written

contributions from his readers all over China on an otherwise "eventless" day, which he thought just as important as any historical moment. Chang Hsin-hsin by and large followed Mao Tun's method but benefitted from the modern technology of tape recording; she thereby manages to imbue her work with an even more vivid sense of the oral account. Feng Chi-ts'ai, however, is more bent on rearranging his materials in the fictional form.

That editors and writers of reportage literature can erase themselves completely from their text is an old realist myth long ago devalued by modern critics and writers. Compare Chang Hsin-hsin's and Feng Chi-ts'ai's work, and one finds that how they conduct interviews, what they expect their contributors to talk about, and how they render the results to lead to different versions of the manners and morals of the same Chinese people from the same social ambience. Chang Hsin-hsin succeeds in transmitting a verisimilitude of storytelling by making her contributors blurt out what they had on their mind at the moment of the interview. The past haunts the speakers, but it is things that concern them at the present, such as passing a college exam, finding a housing unit in Peking, travelling more comfortably, or even working to become a pop singer, that really count. Just like Mao Tun, she aims to organize and crystallize accidental human experiences into a short but demonstrative glimpse of ongoing history.

Feng Chi-ts'ai goes further than this. He sets out to solicit his contributors to remember the past, i.e. the Cultural Revolution, especially those experiences people normally prefer to forget due either to shame or to guilty

consciences. Instead of the good-hearted *tableaux vivants* that characterize Chang Hsin-hsin's book, Feng Chi-ts'ai makes his a sullen ritualistic attempt of exorcism. For him, only by forcing witnesses into the forbidden traumatic realm can one learn the hard lessons inscribed in History. In one story, a mid-aged ex-red guard recalls how, in the Cultural Revolution, he married a high-class girl for vanity and self-protection, only to find that the class gap is so uncrossable that by the end, he lost both his own family ties and his wife's favor. In another, a woman doctor quietly relates how she killed her own mother after the persecution had driven both over the edge of nervous breakdown. If Feng's stories make more sense than the bulk of literature of the wounded, it is because they reveal more than just the persecution and pain — the fanaticism, cruelty and irrationality *shared* by people in the Cultural Revolution.¹⁶ A historical sense is thus evoked, as Feng's narrators, through their remembrance of things past, gradually come to realize how much their way of life, their understanding of human relationships, as well as their attitude toward politics, have been drastically changed over the crucial ten years.

Introspection and confession, not accusation, set the key tone in Feng Chi-ts'ai's forthcoming book. This also differentiates him from the exposé works practiced by writers like Liu Pin-yen 劉賓雁, for all the chilling stories they both like to (re)tell. Liu Pin-yen is at his best when he describes his case-stories from an impartial, public stance.¹⁷ Literature works for him just like a social indictment, lashing out at those corrupt bureaucrats and villains who benefitted from the Cultural

Revolution. Feng Chi-ts'ai, by contrast, probes into the intricate motives of his confessors, revealing a psychological world where the line between justice and evil, right and wrong tends to blur. If he is able to maintain this depth of honesty, he will hopefully open a new horizon in mainland Chinese reportage literature.

As far as the historical novel is concerned, Feng Chi-ts'ai is offering something different for a change. Whereas *The Boxers* he wrote a decade ago still carries some patent signs of traditional communist historical romance, in *One Decade, One Hundred People* we find his own view of what a historical novel could be like and what it could do have been largely modified. Echoing the most polemical part of Tai Hou-ying's *Man Ah! Man*, Feng Chi-ts'ai now sees history more or less as a big conglomeration of viewpoints and experiences, continuously conflicting and interacting. Though the concept of group portrait remains in the new project, gone is the imperative for centralized action and psychology. In view of the vast amount of personal materials he is digging out and the gallery of characters he is presenting, we are led to expect that, not without caution, in the long run, they will constitute a modern type of Lie-chuan 列傳 (biography series), testifying to 'people's rather than People's misjudgment and errors, remorse and tears, in the ten years of the Cultural Revolution, before they fade all too soon into oblivion.

III

The third writer I shall deal with is Ah Ch'eng, whose novellas and short fiction have won tremendous acclaim

among Chinese readers, both on the mainland, and in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the United States. Only his three novellas, *Chess King* 棋王, *Tree King* 樹王, and *Child King* 孩子王, will be discussed here. By stricter definition, these novellas may not be read as proper historical novels, which generally call for full-length plotting, detectable change of characters' consciousness and behavioral codes, abundance of verifiable side-references, and so forth. But Ah Ch'eng conjures up in his work a unique concept of history which, in my view, has pointed to yet another possible direction for mainland Chinese writers working on the genre: drawing motifs and symbolism from classical fiction and conventional wisdom,¹⁸ he invests the temporal sequence of his narrative with a dimension of mythical recurrence and hiatus, and thus sheds light on problems we have not come across in other novels under discussion.

Chess King, first published in 1984, deals with a legendary event happening to a group of students exiled during the Cultural Revolution. The major character is Wang Yi-sheng 王一生, an orphan from a family of bad elements, and a "Chess Addict," as his friends call him. His love for playing Chinese chess, even at the most miserable moments of his life, triggers the story's action. Along with Wang's competitions with challengers, Ah Ch'eng elaborates a philosophy of chess-playing which turns out to be a no less subtle interpretation of history.

In addition to the set of chess pieces respectively standing for generals, tacticians, soldiers, and military armaments, standard Chinese chess is always played on a chessboard with the set phrase, "Ch'u's water vs. Han's border,"

inscribed in the center. By design, the game already both commemorates and mocks the combat between Hsiang Yü 項羽 and Liu Pang 劉邦. While a chess game can generate in players the battle sentiment of a fatal war almost two thousand years ago, it is, after all, a game. "An even more poignant irony emerges when the analogy is turned the other way round: with all their grand causes and massive costs, how many holy wars have proven in time to be no more than an terrible and meaningless game?"

Ah Ch'eng, of course, is not the first Chinese writer inspired by the analogy. Liu E made a similar association in his preface to *The Travels of Lao Ts'an* 老殘遊記, and Chang Hsi-Kuo 張系國, a contemporary writer from Taiwan, even wrote a novel with the same title as Ah Ch'eng's. Still, Ah Ch'eng surpasses his predecessors by interweaving the symbolism of chess games with ongoing history in such a suggestive way as to produce a dense semantic texture in his work. By playing chess, Wang Yi-sheng and his friends temporarily step into a vicarious world where rules, conventions, and decorums apply, a sharp contrast to the social-political existence into which they are thrown. This Utopian yearning, nevertheless, is undercut by the implied tension around the chessboard, and by the concept that victory goes to those who have the better "tactics." How to get round the dialectics of victory vs. failure, gain vs. loss, remains for Ah Ch'eng a major thematic test. A foreshadowing in this regard can be discerned by the teaching of Wang Yi-sheng's first mentor, an old ragman, who holds that the a chess player must give up his antagonism if he wants to gain the final win.

As he has become a small celebrity in town, Wang Yi-sheng is brought to fight simultaneous matches with the nine best players from nearby districts, including the most recent champion. This champion, however, never plays in person but sends a messenger to announce his moves. The story's climax comes when Wang Yi-sheng has defeated the first eight challengers and is waiting for the mysterious champion's next move, a crucial one for breaking a tie. The chess game by now has become a big sensation, attracting thousands to witness the result.

It is at this point that Ah Ch'eng halts his plot and ushers us into a synchronic vision in which past and present, historical battle and local game, generals and chess players, ancient troops and proletarian onlookers, are all summoned together, staging in their own ways the same old story. Mock epic transforms itself into heightened awareness. "From my mind something ancient is suddenly gushing out. I see the books I have read drifting along, some closer, some farther, then fading away. Hsiang Yu and Liu Pang, both so admired by me, stand there now, paralyzed and aghast. The dead bodies of their black-faced soldiers revive, groaning as they rise from the ground. A woodcutter, ax in hand, sings folksongs. Suddenly too I seem to see Wang Yi-sheng's mother folding the pages of books with her feeble hands." (54)¹⁹

But Ah Ch'eng's contemplation of historical dynamics goes yet another turn. The mysterious champion, a scholar-like old gentleman, surprises everybody by his last-minute appearance. Instead of making the long-awaited move, he offers to declare a tie with the young opponent, a letdown for

the audience, but a decisive move driving home the thrust of Ah Ch'eng's theme. Praising the young as a real inheritor of the *Tao* of Chinese chess, the old man acknowledges the continuation of a tradition presumably lost during the period of "crushing everything old."

By leaving the ending open, *Chess King* encourages its readers to spin their own theories as to where its "real" meaning lies. And unsurprisingly, most tend to praise Ah Ch'eng's for recapitulating the eternal coherence of "Chinese culture."²⁰ Persuasive as it may sound, a reading like this risks simplifying Ah Ch'eng's conceptual scheme, making him but a latest practitioner of the cyclical mode of historical thinking most Chinese have comfortably dwelt upon all along. While Ah Ch'eng might well write to observe a myth of eternal recurrence, he has done so with just as much of hitherto neglected Chinese skepticism.

The problem can be approached in two ways. To see in the tie between Wang Yi-sheng and the old man a reconciliation between the past and present, the old and the new, is certainly a commendable reading, representing the wish of a generation of Chinese worn out by all kinds of struggles. But even if such a reading betrays nostalgia for a peaceful world, the myth of return invoked by it cannot be made to obliterate the complexity of historical development. If we put faith in the perennial return of the "good elements" of Chinese tradition, in the novella's case, the *Tao* of playing chess, there is no reason to believe that the "bad" parts of it will not also return in their time. A benign approach simply makes Ah Ch'eng's *Tao* and Tai Hou-ying's Marxist humanism two sides of one coin, promoting from different angles

a renewed gospel of causality amid continuity. Literally and symbolically, Ah Ch'eng relates his story as an *only local victory* of tradition over the Cultural Revolution. A cautious move, though, as a total vision would have oversimplified what was happening in history.

On the other hand, history can not have promised a periodical restoration of just the "right" elements of tradition, nor has it run short of examples of abrupt and irreparable disappearance and loss. There are too many things, once abolished or destroyed, that will not be restored by a magic turn of the wheel. This side of Ah Ch'eng's skepticism can be particularly discerned in his two other novellas, *Tree King* and *Child King*. The former recalls a tragedy caused by ruthless destruction of forests, and the latter shows the end of a great inherited tradition within the space of one Chinese generation. In *Tree King*, an old retired soldier-farmer fights a one-man war to save an ancient tree, the Tree King, which is going to be cut down with the rest for more farming land. He eventually dies for the cause as the tree falls on him. The sacrifice, tragic notwithstanding, best conveys merely man's gratuitous effort to fight in the face of an omnipotent force of annihilation.

This theme of Quixotic heroism recurs in the *Child King*, where a village school teacher works hard to teach his illiterate-like students something other than propaganda, so successfully that he is suspected of bad motives and fired. Both novellas, as pointed out by optimistic critics, honor Chinese perseverance and dignity. But it is the historical forces, described as rampant, irrational trials of occasional innocent people, that truly reveal Ah Ch'eng's

anxiety and skepticism. Nothing conveys more vividly the pathos of a historical loss than the scene of the painful fall of the Tree King. As it is chopped down, Ah Ch'eng sees the whole of "Heaven" at the same time collapse and Earth utterly "changed." The future is left undecided, and any definite belief in the grand return of order and meaning would appear only too naive. In dramatizing the existential sentiment of one's, no, one nation's encounter with a historical abyss, Ah Ch'eng recalls the theme of *The Travels of Lao Ts'an*, a novel registering another "awesome" hiatus in the flow of Chinese history.

This paper has tried to delineate some recent tendencies of mainland Chinese historical fiction. While a more in-depth research is still waiting to be done, I hope I have laid open certain problems and possibilities concerning the way mainland Chinese writers think and write about history. Ironically, because History is so sanctioned as the narrative of the "real" in a communist country like China, history has been approached and understood in a very enclosed form, despite the ever-changing twists and turns of its content. Writing the historical novel, therefore, is an easy and difficult job at the same time. While the writer has ever to steer his interpretation of given subject toward the latest direction of the political winds, the recipe remains unchallengeable and thus unchangeable.

Tai Hou-ying, Feng Chi-ts'ai, and Ah Ch'eng have endeavored in different ways to modify the prototype of the mainland Chinese historical novel. Compared with their modern Western counterparts, their works under discussion, except for *Chess King*, still share

a lack of sophistication both in theoretical and formal schemata. This fact, nevertheless, should not become an excuse, stopping us from examining what has been done and what can be done. Tai Hou-ying's meta-historical novels seek to answer what is history in a historical context; Feng Chi-ts'ai amplifies and thus rewrites the definition of historiography by providing a sheaf of personal biographies; Ah Ch'eng derives his outlook on the human condition from classical wisdom and mythical sources, calling attention to the unbroken chain of our philosophical and intellectual heritage.

As previously pointed out, though all three writers have sensed the plural possibilities of interpreting history — indeed a giant step over the past — the concept that history is something immanent, underwritten by metaphysical causality and necessity, hovers over their works. By this charge, I am neither denying the compelling moral overtone as reflected in their works nor expecting any logical treatise in place of their fictions. Nor am I granting my own argument a transhistorical prestige. What I would suggest is that, given what they have done, these writers are better

prepared than ever to combine their moral integrity with an intellectual shrewdness, thereby directing their statements about the past to questions about the (present) criteria on different levels for believing that such statements can be meaningful. Only a demystification of History can allow us to gain the lucidity and the freedom to deal with those confusions and atrocities that history has thrust upon us.

As it is, Tai Hou-ying's advocacy of a Marxist humanism has really not gone far from what she protests against. Her longing for a complete writing of history echoes a teleological idealism that had already proven impossible. Feng Chi-ts'ai still has a lot to do in questing to see the present in the past without reducing one to the other. And Ah Ch'eng would probably reach even more profound depths were he willing to investigate the ideological and psychological motivations of his current critical parishioners. All this admittedly would be highly polemical work, since any change in either format or concept might lead to new political controversy. Still, this is what makes the historical novel historically significant.

NOTES

¹ See Rudolph G. Wagner, "Lobby Literature: The Archaeology and Present Functions of Science Fiction in China," *After Mao: Chinese Literature and Society 1978-1981*, ed. Jeffrey C. Kinkley (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1985) 17-62; Jeffrey C. Kinkley, "Chinese Crime Fiction and Its Functions at the Turn of the 1980s," in Kinkley, 89-132.

² See, for example, Hayden White, *Metahistory* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1973); Roland Barthes, "Le discours de l'histoire," *Social Science Information*, 6.4 (1967): 65-75; Dominick Lacapra, *History and Criticism* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1985); Frank Kermode, "An Approach through History," *Towards a Poetics of Fiction*, ed. Mark Spilka (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1977) 23-30; and Dominick Lacapra & Steve L. Kaplan, eds., *Modern European Intellectual History* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1983); Allen Thiher, *Words in Reflection* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1984) 188-223.

³ Andrew Plaks, "Towards a Critical Theory of Chinese Narrative," *Chinese Narrative*, ed. Andrew

- Plaks (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1977) 314. For further discussions on the subject, see, Y. W. Ma, "The Chinese Historical Novel: An Outline of Themes and Context," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 34, 2 (1975): 277-294; C. T. Hsia, "The Military Romance: A Genre of Chinese Fiction," *Studies in Chinese Literary Genres*, ed. Cyril Birch (Berkeley: U of California P, 1974) 339-390; Jaroslav Průšek, "History and Epic in China and the West," *Chinese History and Literature* (Prague, 1970) 17-34; Charles Gardner, *Chinese Traditional Historiography* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1961).
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, 312-313.
- ⁵ Georg Lukács, *The Historical Novel*, trans. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell (London: Merlin, 1962) 42.
- ⁶ C. T. Hsia, "Obsession with China," *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction* (New Haven: Yale UP 1971) 533-554.
- ⁷ Jaroslav Průšek, "Mao Tun and Yu Ta-fu," *The Lyrical and the Epic*, ed. Leo Ou-fan Lee (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1980) 121.
- ⁸ Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker, *Ting Ling's Fiction* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1982) 129.
- ⁹ See, for example, Michael Duke, *Blooming and Contending: Chinese Literature in the Post-Mao Era* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1985) 149-181; Carolyn S. Pruyn, "Humanism in Post-Mao Mainland Chinese Literature: The Case of *Jen A, Jen!* by Tai Hou-ying," *Asian Culture Quarterly*, Vol. 13, 3 (1985): 15-34.
- ¹⁰ Tai Hou-ying, *Jen Ah! Jen* (Canton: Jen-min, 1981).
- ¹¹ I am using the term "heteroglossia" as defined by M.M. Bakhtin. See his *The Dialogic Imagination*, trans. Caryl Emerson & Michael Holquist (Austin: U of Texas P, 1981) 428.
- ¹² Duke, 173.
- ¹³ I am using Duke's translation, in Duke, 152.
- ¹⁴ See, for example, Chin Chia-jui, *Yi-he-t'uan yü-tung* (Shanghai: Jen-min, 1962).
- ¹⁵ The analogy between the *Water Margin* and *The Boxers* also brings to mind the "gang of four's" campaign against the *Water Margin* in the mid-seventies. A reading of *The Boxers* in terms of the classic thus adds another twist, however unintentionally, to the political and ideological ambiguity underlying Feng Chi-ts'ai and Li Ting-hsing's work.
- ¹⁶ See Shih Shu-ch'ing's interview with Feng Chi-ts'ai, "Shang-ti shih wei-yi ti Tu-che," literary supplement, *Chung-kuo Shih-pao* 23, 24 April 1987.
- ¹⁷ Duke, 98-122.
- ¹⁸ Hsi Fu-hsi, "Hsiang-huo ch'ung-wen Chieh-hou-hui," appendix, Ah Ch'eng, *Ch'i-wang, Shu-wang, Hai-tzu-wang* (Taipei: Hsin-ti, 1987) 222.
- ¹⁹ Ah Ch'eng, "Ch'i-wang," *Ch'i-wang, Shu-wang, Hai-tzu-wang*.
- ²⁰ See, for example, Michael Duke, "Chung-hua-ch'i-tao pi-ching-pü-t'ui," *Chiu-shih-nien-tai*, Aug. 1985: 82-85; Hsi Fu-hsi, "Hsiang-huo ch'ung-wen Chieh-hou-hui."

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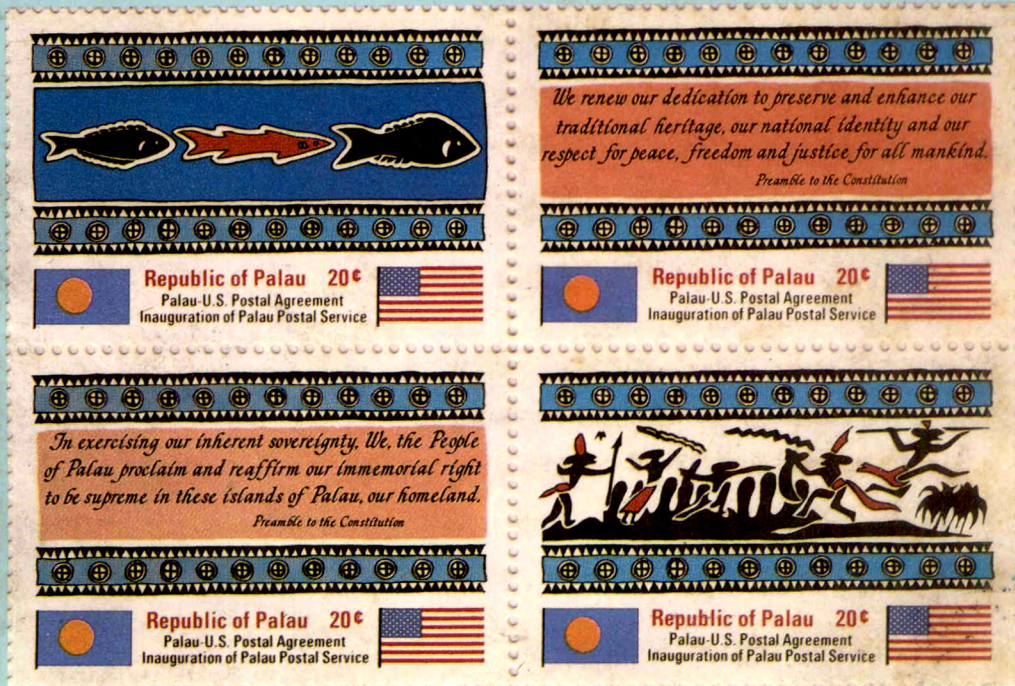
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Western Studies of China in the 80's: A Selective Survey

William H. Nienhauser, Jr.

Since this paper is to be in the nature of a review, let me start by reviewing myself. I am an American who has been interested in traditional Chinese literature for several decades. But in standing here, I am reminded of an anecdote of a vintage somewhere in between the traditional and the modern. That is the story of a Westerner — an Englishman, I believe — recently arrived in China, who, when called on to make a brief speech at a dinner party, spoke in a kind of pidgin English for the benefit of the several Chinese colleagues present. One of these fellow diners was of course Wellington Koo who stood next to speak, in English, with an eloquence which abashed his poor predecessor thoroughly. Indeed, I propose today something not much less embarrassing or outrageous, by presenting a review of Chinese Studies to a primarily Chinese audience. Since, however, I have already mounted this dizzying dais, I shall not imperil myself that much more by discussing not only the field in which I have studied some traditional Chinese literature, but the whole of Western Chinese Studies in recent years.

To continue this self-examination, I find I am living in a post-modern world in which my own understanding of some theories and schemes may be

limited by the rather conservative Sinological training I received. Nevertheless, I have selected from the nearly seventy works listed in the appended "Books and Articles Considered" four studies which not only impressed me, but also represent in some ways the period of the 1980s.

Ihab Hassan, in a recent talk at National Taiwan University on the intellectual and literary trends of the United States since World War II, noted that the 1980s was in general a period in which a search for new values — following the upheavals of the 1960s and the consolidation of the 1970s — was paramount. Hassan sees the 1980s as a decade in which group achievements, technological heroism, and a new optimism are among the norms. The American population is aging and becoming more conservative. And pragmatism and pluralism are watchwords.¹ In this paper I want to see if parallels between Hassan's depictions of the 1980s can be found in recent works on China.

In general, I think the tone in the field is much more sober than it was in the late 1970s when works like Edward Said's *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978) and Thomas A. Metzger's *Escape from Predicament: Neo-Confucianism and China's Evolving Political Culture*

(New York: Columbia University Press, 1977) caused such furor that they served as topics for symposia in the journals or for panels at the annual conventions.

Before beginning to draw any conclusions, however, it would perhaps be prudent to turn to the works of the 1980s themselves. I shall do so field by field, beginning with an anthropological study, P. Steven Sangren's *History and Magical Power in a Chinese Community* and moving alphabetically through three other disciplines: history, linguistics, and literature.

History and Magical Power in a Chinese Community has just appeared. Sangren, who teaches at Cornell University, presents us with a revised version of his Stanford-University dissertation, a study of Ta-ch'i 大溪 (literally "Big Creek"), a small market town forty kilometers southeast of Taipei, and the group of rural villages that constitute its standard marketing community (in G. William Skinner's terminology). The book is divided into three parts. The first is what Sangren calls a history of Ta-ch'i from "an objectivist perspective," i.e. a standard historical narrative. This opening section parallels Part III, "Efficacy, Legitimacy, and the Structure of Value," where Sangren attempts to use the concept of *ling* 靈 — the "magical power" of his title — to illustrate how the Taiwanese of Ta-ch'i and other areas have constructed their history and their identity. Part II, "The Ritual Construction of Social Space," provides a synchronic analysis of local territorial cults in Ta-ch'i.

This is an ambitious undertaking in which post-modern scholarship is prominent — the names of Levi-Strauss and Foucault dot the text and the notes.

And Sangren has made the task more difficult for himself by anticipating that Parts I and II would appeal primarily to Sinologists, Part III to anthropologists and other social scientists. The book has several theses. First, Sangren argues that "social institutions and collective representation are dialectically connected in the process of social and cultural reproduction" (p. 2). Extending this to the Chinese realm, he claims that *ling* "can be fully understood only as a production of the reproduction of social institutions and as a manifestation of a native historical consciousness." These rather vague theoretical statements become clearer when applied to actual situations, as we'll see shortly.

In Part I Sangren views the first period of Ta-ch'i's history as a part of the expanding frontier (through 1850). For the next seventy years, until 1920, the town prospered from the export of tea and camphor and was considered an economic center in Northern Taiwan. By-passed in the early years of the century by the railroad the Japanese had constructed, and with the navigability of the Ta-han River ended by the construction of an aqueduct, Ta-ch'i stagnated and gave way to its neighboring cites of T'ao-yüan 桃園 and Chung-li 中壢. With the rise of industrial capitalism in the 1950s and thereafter, the city has undergone a revival of sorts. Such is Sangren's rather straightforward local history of his town.

In Part II, "The Ritual Construction of Social Space," Sangren discusses the correspondence between social and ritual activity:

In Ta-ch'i three levels of social and economic interaction — the neighborhood, the village, and the

multivillage-level ritual community — take explicit ritual form in a nested, three-tiered hierarchy of territorial cults. Neighborhood-cult ritual is generally associated with worship at Place God (T'u Ti Kung) shrines; village ritual is conducted at more elaborate village temples, and honors deities of higher celestial status than T'u Ti Kung; and multivillage ritual centers on the worship of the red-faced deity-general Kuan Kung. Significantly, in Ta-ch'i the perimeter of participation in multivillage community ritual coincides very nearly with the boundaries of the marketing community

Just as lower-level bureaucrats governed local administrative districts and higher-level officials more encompassing ones, so lesser deities administer small communities and more exalted gods larger ones. . . . The logic of this administered cosmos explains in part why Ta-ch'i natives participate in several territorial cults. The cosmic hierarchy, like the mundane, is a 'nested' one; everyone is simultaneously a member of neighborhood-, village-, and multivillage-level communities. It also explains why people living in different locales worship different constellations of deities, the degree of overlap depending on relative position in the structure of cosmic administration" [pp. 51-2].

Although Sangren does not totally accept the idea that the hierarchy of the gods is modelled on the civil bureaucracy, he does follow Arthur P. Wolf in drawing correspondences between the three most important categories of supernatural beings — gods, ghosts and ancestors — and the three most important types of people in the life of the common man — officials, strangers, and kin. And he notes that "given this set of correspondences, much of Chinese ritual activity can be viewed in terms of various

forms of exchange between people and categories of spirits. To put it rather crudely, one propitiates dangerous ghosts, provides for the material and spiritual needs of deceased kin, and bribes powerful gods" [p. 52].²

In the chapters which follow he gives a good description of Taiwanese folk religion, territorial cults and pilgrimages, and a descriptive account of some of the interactions between local ritual, economic and administrative systems.

Having provided the historical and religious backgrounds, in Section III, Sangren begins to develop his theory based on *ling* or "magical power." He argues that *ling* is an "implicit function of the mediation of order and disorder" [p. 141], the "key cultural operator structuring Chinese religious logic" [p. 144]. Moreover, the historically authentic god "must necessarily also be the most powerful" (*ling*) [p. 215]. Finally, the authentication of *ling* in local historical tradition is not related to its contemporary efficacy (p. 211).

Sangren feels that "Chinese culture defines power as a function of the mediation of order and disorder" [p. 143]. For a god to be able to mediate between order and disorder, however, the god must possess elements of both (*yin* and *yang*). Thus "the higher a deity's position [in the celestial bureaucracy]," and the more pure *yang* he is, "the lower his practical efficacy." Although this may seem difficult to believe, Sangren provides a number of examples the best of which is the following. He notes that Arthur Wolf, having observed that two gods were not in the proper placement in a domestic icon, was told by his informant that the Stove God was placed in a position

above his normally superior T'u Ti Kung because the Stove God is the Jade Emperor's younger brother and could therefore report directly to heaven without following normal bureaucratic lines of authority. Wolf took this as further proof that the gods were commonly perceived as bureaucrats. Sangren, however, gives an alternate interpretation, "suggesting that the positions of the Stove God and the Place God may refer to fire's role in mediating heaven and earth. Hence the Stove God (representing fire) is in a *ling* position between the Place God (representing earth) and the higher gods in heaven" [p. 163].

Sangren offers other exceptions to the celestial: mundane bureaucracy parallels in a discussion of the importance of female deities and mass-grave spirits in Taiwanese religion (pp. 149ff.). The female deities — Ma Tsu, Kuan Yin and Wu Sheng Lau Mu (The Unborn Mother) — are not usually associated with spatially-bounded communities. They, moreover, cannot be cleansed of their *yin* and thus "derive power from their abilities to represent the regenerative force that is latent in disorder. In many personal requests — for example, that one's children be favored above others in college entrance examinations, that one's business succeed in competition with others, or that one recover from disease — what is desired is an ally who has the power to manipulate order, rather than one obligated to uphold it. Thus these extra-bureaucratic women become particularly filled with *ling* or "magical power." Sangren makes a similar case for mass-grave spirits. This is interesting since these days in Taipei many of the partisans of the *demimonde* reputedly trek out nightly to the Shih-pa Wang

Kung (Temple of the Eighteen Kings) to appeal to the grave of a very *ling* spirit of a dog who died nearby and was buried there with several men, after having saved some of their colleagues from drowning. Its spirit is most effective at midnight, when *yin* is strongest.

Finally, in tracing the role of historical authenticity in the power of local gods, Sangren treats the Ma Tsu pilgrimage. In it he finds an opportunity for Taiwanese to enhance their group identity, to review their common historical background. Many of the authenticating miracles of the various Ma Tsu cult centers support this, since the miracles cited to authenticate their images often involve Ma Tsu's assistance in defense of Taiwan's Chinese inhabitants, such as the Pei-kang Ma Tsu protecting the people from pirates in the Taiwan Straits or the Lu-erh-men Ma Tsu aiding Koxinga (Cheng Ch'eng-kung 鄭成功) in his defeat of the Dutch (p. 214). Sangren believes that if Taiwanese identity were to decline in importance, the popularity of the Ma Tsu pilgrimages would diminish or their significance change radically.

As mentioned above, Sangren predicted the very theoretical sections near the end of the book would be of little interest to Sinologists. He was correct. Yet the portion which deals with *ling* as an ideology, outlining its mystifying function à la Marx's commodity fetishism, is of general interest. And actually, although I felt all three sections had to be read together to understand Sangren's arguments, the final pages seem to point to a fourth, as yet unwritten study. Based on the present work, I'm anxiously awaiting it.

From anthropology, we move to

history and William T. Rowe's *Hankow, Commerce and Society in a Chinese City, 1796-1889*. Although this is also a move from the small Northern Taiwan town of Ta-ch'i to the metropolis which was, and to some extent still is, the hub of Central China, some similarities to Sangren's work are striking. But for the main Rowe, in this first of two planned volumes on Hankow, treats the city as a trade center and one therefore from which the rise of guilds (*hang* 行) led to new social and political consciousnesses. Rowe takes up his subject in the late eighteenth century when the administrative powers of the central government were on the wane while local economies were beginning to grow rapidly; he ends it when Chang Chih-t'ung 張之洞 (1837-1909) was named Hu-kwang Viceroy in December 1889 as "whatever he was" and foreign companies in the wake of the Treaty of Shimonoseki moved a number of industries to Hankow in the 1890s effectively ushering in the 20th Century.

Although Rowe goes back to the origin of the city brought about when the Han River shifted its lower course in 1465 cutting off Hanyang merchants from much of their trade to the North, he focuses on two historical movements: the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion of the 1850s and the influx of Westerners after Hankow became a Treaty Port in the early 1860s. Within this chronology Rowe has two concerns: (1) to show that Hankow was a "city" in the Western and Weberian sense of the term, and (2) to identify the forces which brought about social change in these one hundred some years.

The study begins with a discussion of how recently Weber's ideas about the Chinese city, ideas which dominated

Western scholarship through the late 1950s or early 1960s, have been revised so that new emphasis is given to "the continuing historical development of cities in the postmedieval period, the wider geographic and human context of Chinese cities, and the primacy of the economic rather than the political role of the city in Chinese society" [p. 28].

But Rowe admits that Hankow was never a city proper (*ch'eng*) or an administrative center in the 19th century and that this lack of direct contact with the surrounding rural hinterland allowed Hankow to avoid "what Weber identified as one of the principal stumbling blocks to the emergence of a 'modern' urban society in China: the fact that the jurisdictions of urban-based administrations were not the city alone, but the city as of a piece with the surrounding country or some other larger territorial unit. This relative independence of its environs led to Hankow's role as an interregional (rather than local) trading center with a population of 1,000,000 people by the mid-nineteenth century (Rowe notes, p. 40, that only two other cities in the world, London and Paris, had such numbers at that time). Using G. William Skinner's "central-place analysis" Rowe traces the development of the trade of a number of commodities including rice, salt, tea and oils to eight other Chinese regions: the Upper, Middle, and Lower Yangtze regions, the Northwest, the North, the Southeast Coast, Ling-nan, and the Southwest Provinces. In short, he identifies Hankow with the title of his Part I (pp. 17-212) as "The Emporium" of China.

He does this in the face of Skinner's claims that a national marketing system

did not exist in China before 1895 [p. 60]. Rowe's counterclaims follow closely recent researches by scholars in China which argue that "an integrated national market emerged in China by at least the mid-eighteenth century" [p. 60]. This discovery not only revises the theories of Skinner and others, but also prepares Rowe's argument that the arrival of Western traders in 1861 played a minor role in Hankow's economic and social development.

Rowe documents the extensive Hankow trade prior to 1850 and shows that only because the T'ai-p'ing's destroyed the city's trade in the early 1850s, and then the city itself in 1854, were Westerners able to feel they had built Hankow's commercial world from scratch. The still unrebuilt city they found in 1861 was a far cry from the bustling center of commerce it had been in 1854. Even in 1889, the final year of Rowe's study, the city had still not succeeded in regaining all of its pre-T'ai-p'ing wealth and vigor [pp. 77-8].

The interregional orientation of the city's merchants resulted in their preference to buy Western goods from Chinese brokers in Shanghai, with whom they had long-standing relations, rather than directly from Westerners in Hankow. In further support of the idea that Westerners were only one of several forces which spurred growth in late nineteenth-century Hankow, Rowe argues that the idea promulgated by Chinese and Japanese scholars of the 1950s that the government attempted to stimulate trade in late Ch'ing times is born out by his work on Hankow. He adds, however, that attempts to bolster the State's revenues from this growing trade strained merchant-state

relations and provided the seeds for a growing tension and unrest among the Hankow business community in the later decades of the nineteenth century.

This leads Rowe, in the second part of the book, entitled "Urban Social Organization" (pp. 213-346), to an examination of the social structure of the city. Here, in a manner strikingly reminiscent of Sangren, Rowe finds that "class, calling, and status were all less permanent than subethnic heritage, particularly in a commercial, urban setting" [p. 213]. Since Hankow had grown rapidly in the late Ming and had to be rebuilt completely following the T'ai-p'ing devastation, it was essentially an "immigrant city" composed of what Rowe calls "migrants" or displaced persons who had been forced by either natural or military disaster to abandon their native places, "urban immigrants" who were drawn by possibilities of advancement from the neighboring countryside, and "sojourners" who came to the city specifically to advance their careers and fortunes [pp. 213-214; Rowe notes for example that the examinations in Hanyang were less competitive than in other regions, and that this was one of the reasons the sojourners came (pp. 236-241)]. He believes that "most Hankow residents at any time during the nineteenth century were . . . more or less foreign' to that locality. Those with the deepest local roots were descendants of migrants during the Ming and early Ching" [p. 223]. Thus Hankow's social situation was not unlike that of Sangren's Ta-ch'i and the unrest Rowe detects in Hankow's society (which he promises to explore further in the second volume of his study), forms an interesting parallel

to that Sangren depicts between various ethnic groups in the proximity of Ta-ch'i (although Ta-ch'i itself was a fairly homogenous group of settlers from Chang-chou 漳州, its tensions with the aborigines and peoples in neighboring townships from other cities in Fukien could be seen as similar).

Rowe notes that even when the urban dweller retained a strong feeling for a native place, there is "no reason to assume that ... [this] ... in any way precluded the development of a conception of himself as a full member of the community to which he had immigrated or in which he sojourned." Rowe calls this later feeling a "locational identity" [p. 250]. Although he doesn't make the claim, I suspect this ability to identify with two "homes" at various levels of administration may help to explain in part the readiness of the Hankow residents to transfer some of their loyalty to the even higher entity of a new Chinese state during the 1911 revolution.

Yet native place ties were still strong for residents of this "city of outsiders," and early guilds were formed either around them or around common occupations or common "economic classes" [pp. 252-3]. And these guilds in turn were "the most important element directing social and economic life" [p. 252]. Although they were primarily economic organizations, they had non-commercial functions such as discussing collective affairs, maintaining native-place sentiment, worshipping home-area deities, and engaging in philanthropic activities [p. 260] — all of which recalls Sangren. Indeed, Rowe concedes that "in Hankow the group identity of all guilds was bound up with their function as transmitters

of a cultural tradition, including its religion and ideology" [p. 289]. He goes on to argue that "patron deities often fit into the same hierarchical nesting arrangement as did ethnic identities and guild structure" and that "ritual observances were an important part of guild activities ... inasmuch as group identity was closely bound up with worship of a specific patron, conspicuous devotion to that deity was a form of self-assertion. ... Public displays like the "lantern festival" (*teng-hui*) financed by the Hunan Timber Guild on Parrot Island in 1876 likewise combined faith and self-proclamation" [pp. 290-1]. These arguments again closely parallel Sangren's comments on the importance of pilgrimages. And Rowe's comments on the physical architecture of the new guildhall of the Shansi bankers built in 1870, with its temples and chapels — there were eight in all — "used for the specialized worship and conduct of business [emphasis mine] of the *hui-kuan's* component guilds" [p. 311] would certainly win Sangren's interest and approval.

But unlike Sangren, Rowe believes in the primacy of the economic functions of the guild and sees "worship of a deity or commemoration of a cultural hero like Chu Hsi or Wang Yang-ming" as providing "a prestigious front for economic activity, which was thereby made less vulnerable to official or popular opinion" [p. 256, see also p. 239]. Moreover, Rowe's main argument goes beyond religious-social parallels to show that the "most striking change" in social organization was the growth of the Hankow guilds which "can best be seen less as subject to the tyranny of an absolutist state or a feudal agrarian

elite than as a relatively self-contained, pluralistic political system" [p. 344].

As a lagniappe following the main courses, Rowe also shows that Hankow achieved Weberian "urban autonomy" by possessing an "urban community" and, through the guilds, a degree of self-determination which was as great as China's politico-legal system would then allow.

Thus, although post-modern historians such as Hayden White have not influenced this study, Rowe's questioning and ultimate rejection or revision of several theories of China's nineteenth-century economy, politics and society — he repudiates portions of his teacher Skinner's work which is in itself innovative — marks his work clearly as post-modern. Moreover, in his description of the Eight Great Guilds of Hankow as "a relatively self-contained pluralistic political system" he is perhaps projecting a basic post-modern concept — pluralism — onto his milieu. Finally, another point of similarity between Sangren and Rowe is their support of the "underdog" — Sangren fully behind the aborigines and Taiwanese in Ta-ch'i, Rowe attempting to show that the Chinese developed their own commerce for the most part independent of Western contacts and stimuli. Whether this is a part of what Hassan has called the "tribalization" of the 1980s I leave to your discretion.

His third book I'd like to examine, Chad Hansen's *Language and Logic in Ancient China*, will represent the fields of linguistics and philosophy. Hansen's study is based on the hypothesis that ancient "Chinese thought is like Western thought in that both philosophical traditions focus on language and its role in culture" (p. v, see also pp.

9-10 and 30). Criticizing older interpretations such as Fung Yu-lan's Platonistic theory, Hansen proposes a new approach based on his own ideas of "mass noun hypothesis" and "behavioral nominalism." This approach is useful, Hansen argues, because he has found that based on the grammatical structure of ancient Chinese there are no abstract entities and therefore Chinese philosophy is nominalistic.

Hansen believes the ancient language had a "substance ontology" as opposed to our 'physical object ontology' (p. 28), a mereological ontology by which "the mind [has] the ability to discriminate and distinguish 'stuffs' and thereby to guide evaluation and action" (p. 31). This "language consists of *ming* 名 'names' which have a one-to-one relation to *shih* 實 'stuffs' " so that "naming is not grounded on the notion of an abstract concept, a property, an essence, or an idea type, but rather on finding 'boundaries' between things" (p. 32). This behavior he identifies as "behavioral nominalism." "Mass nouns" are those "concrete nouns in the language of the pre-Han philosophers [which] seemed like hybrids. They had no plural; they were associated with sortals or measures, and there was no *many-much* distinction. They function as basic term expressions" (p. 33), like the word "cattle" in English. And "these masslike nouns of classical Chinese are what shape the intuitive picture of the language-world relation in Chinese philosophy" (p. 33).

With these theories and a methodology based on "the premise that interpretation (which includes translation) is a theory, an attempt to explain a text — to render it understandable" (p. 26), established in his first two

chapters ("Methodological Reflections," pp. 1-29, and "The Mass Noun Hypothesis and Abstraction in Chinese Language and Thought, pp. 30-54), Hansen then examines Confucian and Taoist theories of language in Chapter 3 (Background Theories of Language in Ancient China, pp. 55-99). His interpretative theory, however, is "relative to an extended audience" [in this case "the philosophically interested English-speaking student," p. 7] and allows that "an interpretation of a passage in a classical Chinese philosophical text should be coherent with an interpretation of the chapter, and that with one of the book. Our interpretive theory for a book, in turn, should be a coherent part of a theory of the author's philosophy, and that with a theory of the school of which he is a part, which should be a coherent part of the philosophical milieu of the time, which should be a coherent part of the theory of that tradition of philosophy, which should form a coherent part of one's theory of the nature of philosophy itself" (p. 6).

Hansen has come to this interpretive impasse after positing and rejecting the concept that "one must think like a Chinese" and that the Chinese have a "special, inscrutable logic." In so doing he sets up what is essentially an adversarius to argue the points for these two concepts (pp. 10ff).

The ancient Chinese, Hansen claims, were capable of inventing theories of abstractions, but they did not. One of the reasons that they were not interested in abstract theories was the writing system:

One cannot argue that a nonphonemic writing system is a necessary and sufficient condition for philosophical

nominalism. One *can* plausibly argue that characters (which are viewed as representing semantic content directly) can serve theoretical or explanatory functions which those without such a writing system are inclined to assign to abstract or mental entities. The characters thus render such theorizing less attractive to philosophers. By eliminating or filling some of the explanatory functions of concepts or ideas, the pictographs or ideographs reduce the motivation for abstract or mentalistic theorizing" (p. 53).

To begin Chapter 3, Hansen argues that "social-political theory, ethics, philosophical psychology, and philosophy of language" occupied the ancient Chinese thinkers rather than metaphysics, epistemology and logic which are more usually associated with philosophy in the West (p. 55). Thus, instead of the rather passive functions of language, Chinese philosophers were interested "in accounts of the way words function in, say, socialization, problem solving, or behavior modification" in what is sometimes called pragmatics (the relations of language to the purposes of language users — as opposed to semantics, the relation of language and extra linguistic reality, and syntax, the inter-relations of linguistic components; p. 58). "Hence, instead of asking if a philosophical claim was true, Chinese philosophers asked if it was assertible (*k'o* 可)" (p. 59). Thus the regulative function and behavioral implication of a statement or proposition were more significant than the truth or falsity in the traditional Western sense (pp. 59-60).³

Hansen stresses that this distinction between "stress on the attitude-forming functions of language, versus the content-expressing function is one of the crucial and most frequently ignored contrasts

between the Western and Chinese traditions" (p. 61). It is especially important in Confucianism and early Taoism, to which Hansen next turns. He sees a "central philosophical core linking [the] disparate elements" of the *Tao Te Ching* in "the theory ... that knowledge, wisdom and learning are matters of mastering a linguistic practice" (p. 65). Hansen claims the opening assertions in the *Tao Te Ching* show the *tao* "reflects the features of discourse or language; it is essentially regulative, and it 'creates' things" (p. 67). He uses the following paragraph from Chapter 2 of the *Tao Te Ching* to show that "seemingly opposite names have no 'real' evaluative significance" (p. 70):

That the whole world knows the beautiful's being deemed "beautiful" is sufficient for "ugly." That the whole world knows the good's being deemed "good" is sufficient for "evil." Thus "having" and "lacking" produce each other. "Difficult" and "easy" complement each other. "Long" and "short" offset each other; "high" and "low" incline toward each other; "note" and "sound" harmonize each other; "before" and "after" follow each other.

This is also further support for the mereological worldview Hansen has postulated for ancient Chinese thinkers.

In dealing with Confucianism, Hansen focuses on the rectification of names (*cheng-ming* 正名) and passages like the following from *Mencius*:

The King said, "Is it all right for a minister to murder his king?"

Mencius said, "He who injures righteousness is a destructive person. Such a person is a mere fellow. I have heard of killing a mere fellow Chou [the supposedly wicked ruler],

but I have not heard of murdering the ruler." (p. 75)

The doctrine of rectification of names is exclusive. If the words "mere fellow" apply to a person, the word king or gentlemen should not. And this "moral version of rectification of names inclines toward a formula to be found in Kung-sun Lung — one-name-one-thing" (p. 76).

After a discussion of *Chuang-tzu*, Hansen elicits four presuppositions of language which were "central themes in all the classical philosophical schools of China": (1) the regulative function of language — "the function of words is to engender and express attitudes with implications for action" (p. 60); (2) its tendency to divide and discriminate — "to have a language is to distinguish or discriminate stuffs in a given way" (p. 61); (3) the conventional basis of language — "not only sounds and symbols are conventional, but so is the associated practice of division" (p. 62); the nominalistic nature of ancient Chinese — "because the Chinese philosopher is not committed to any entities other than names and objects" (p. 31).

In the remaining two chapters, "Neo-Mohist Philosophy of Language" (pp. 100-139) and "Kung-sun Lung and the White-Horse Paradox" (pp. 140-171), Hansen applies the interpretative framework he built in the first two chapters to an extensive analysis of the Neo-Mohist Canons and the white-horse (*pai-ma* 白馬) dialogue of Kung-sun Lung. These chapters are somewhat repetitive in that Hansen, apparently fearing the reader may have forgotten both his interpretive principles and his assumptions, reviews both here. Without our going into the complexities

of an interesting textual analysis, we can reveal that Hansen concludes the Neo-Mohists wound up rejecting discussion of linguistic problems to avoid distorting their moral or political arguments (p. 120; see also p. 139). On Kung-sun Lung, Hansen concludes that he was "even more committed than the Mohists to the key error, namely, regarding all terms as names" (p. 169) and that this assumption was so entrenched that, despite a general skepticism throughout Chinese history about Kung-sun Lung's arguments, it has been difficult to refute him. The exegesis of Kung-sun Lung's "white horse" section is based on an application of Hansen's mass-noun hypothesis. It basically succeeds where the Neo-Mohist chapter does not.

Yet I must say I found this book more significant as an example of a post-modern piece of research which typifies the early 1980s in Chinese Studies than as an important statement on Chinese language and thought. Here again, as in Sangren and Rowe, there is an interdisciplinary approach and an attempt to reassess previous theories. Although the comments above haven't shown it, Hansen is on occasion fond of the play and parody which also mark post-modernism, as the opening paragraphs of the book illustrate:

Imagine a scene: A half darkened room is filled with incense and anticipation. A small huddle of humanity concentrates under the direction of a medium who is chanting. They are contacting a dead person to talk with him. A voice or voices are heard (perhaps that of the medium). The other participants ask questions to which the voice responds. If successful, the conversation should be the same

as it would have been with the dead person. It should answer questions about the attitude of the dead person to issues which concern the participants. . . .

Now consider a second scene: The room is well lighted and dominated by a blackboard. The only smoke is from scholarly pipes. The people participating come from a quite different stratum of society. Papers, pens, books and glasses are the main paraphernalia at this gathering. One participant reads from a paper. The topic of the paper is also what a dead person thought. But this is not a seance. No one here ever knew the deceased. It is a meeting of academic interpreters — intellectual historians, philosophers, anthropologists. They are concerned with a famous philosopher — specially a Chinese philosopher, perhaps Confucius. (pp. 1-2)

Hansen uses these two activities to drive home "the differences between a theory of interpretation and a theory of spiritualism. An interpretation deals directly with a text, not a mind" (p. 2). An interesting beginning, isn't it?

The final book to be studied at length is Stephen Owen's *Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics, Omen of the World*. Some idea of Owen's tone and attitude can be gained from the following passage:

The world is a vast, fluctuating omenscape, and the poet is the omen-reader of the world. As portents and prodigies appear to the government, revealing the conditions of society, so the omen of the world is the true configuration of the present perceived by the poet. These omens are not prophecies (though one who knows the world's cycles may be able to read something of the future in them). They are latent marks of the governing structure of the present. (p. 44)

Of course, Owen is toying with us. The fluctuating "Omenscape" is actually, of course, "Owenscape," the world (of Chinese literary studies) turned upside down. An "m" for a "w" — "man" for the "world." "Metaphor" for the "whole?" Idle speculation or speculation on the idol. Owen again:

This book is about poems, but it is neither criticism nor is it concerned with criticism. Good criticism treats the shared domain of literature: it asserts what every good reader *ought* to find in a text. Whatever tolerance it feigns, still it legislates. (p. 5)

He is not going to prescribe, but allow us an openscape as well. But

This book is in the conditional; reader, you have been warned. It permits me the freedom to turn arguments around upon themselves, to lead us down blind paths, to answer the same question in a variety of ways, to provide a variety of questions for the same answer. Some of the propositions are probable, some menacing — believe them if you will. (pp. 5-6)

Indeed, we soon find ourselves confused, not sure what to believe. And Owen confesses his intent to *play*:

If we desire to be true readers of such a poetry and not mere archeologists of the written word, we must not only recover or recreate those silent circumstances of the early poet and reader, we must also, in some peculiar way, inhabit them.

Worlds of the mind have been lost along with the civilizations that supported them. We can never recover and inhabit those worlds with certainty; we can never *be* Chinese readers of an earlier century. The barrier is an absolute one; to ignore it is a com-

placency in an individual or in a culture. For such poems as these our own poetic education is misshapen and in reading yields only a parody of a great art. Yet because the poems ask to become fully animate once again, we cannot with equal complacency accept their inaccessibility. Between the impassable barrier and the insistent imperative to cross it there is recourse only to play — an educated, speculative play, by inference and guess recreating those lost worlds. (p. 4)

Despite this playfulness, one of the central ideas of this book is that Chinese poetry is or represents a kind of truth. To illustrate this, and to establish the differences between our Western methods of understanding and the Chinese, Owen begins by comparing Tu Fu's 杜甫 (712-770) "Lü-yeh shu huai" 旅夜書懷 (Writing of What I Feel, Traveling by Night) and Wordsworth's "Composed Upon Westminster Bridge, September 3, 1802." He notes that "it matters not at all whether Wordsworth ever actually stood on Westminster Bridge on September 3, 1802, and gazed at the city of London. It is only a fiction — this lyric 'I' which pretends to report what it perceives. The reader assumes that the poet's historical 'I' makes use of the lyric 'I', and that his visions, real or pretended, become poetry only for the sake of some other ends" (pp. 14-15). But "for Tu Fu's reader the poem is not a fiction: it is a unique, factual account of an experience in historical time, a human consciousness encountering, interpreting, and responding to the world" (p. 15). This first chapter focuses on Liu Hsieh's 劉勰 (465-522) ideas about literature as the means for making manifest the universe (an "openscape").

But it concludes in an upside down omenscape as a "Digression: Counter-statement Exposing the Motives of the Correlative Cosmos" (pp. 27-37) with some fascinating comments on the relation of poetry and the poet to the government:

Poetry . . . promises to make experience manifest, but in fact it speaks only for the approval of the ruling powers. The force of their approval shapes poetry into no more than an instrument of the central government in its eternal struggle with local interests. (pp. 27-28)

And again:

Expose poetry even more harshly: a poem was a symbolic act of loyalty to the central government. For this reason and for this reason alone, the composition of poetry was used as a means to qualify prospective officials in the *chin-shih* examination. (p. 28)

The language of reclusion was applied to any period in a person's life when that person was not directly involved in the central government. This included all forms of life as a private citizen — living off the income of family estates and property, travels to do business for the family, etc. To name such normal activities "reclusion" was to set them in a negative relation to state service; "reclusion" transformed all motives for not serving the state into a purely personal inclination, and it severed any significant connection with local economic and political interests. The authorized theme of "reclusion" effectively kept a person from affirming the priority of any social organization other than the central government. In the poetic ideology there were only two situations a person could conceivably desire — to serve the central government or to live as a

"recluse," a private alternative to state service in which one found "peace of mind." (p. 30)

But these are only words; the state's complicity in the poetic cosmos goes still deeper. . . . To subordinate local and family loyalty to loyalty to the central government requires a faith in hierarchical correlatives, not as a mere poetic device but as an inherent structure of the universe. . . . As a symbolic act of loyalty to the state, the poet affirms this principle of order and makes it manifest. The parallel couplet, the structured description of a landscape, the presumption of meaning incarnate in the world — all these formal patterns and conventions of figuration carry the secret message, "I believe in the universal and eternal validity of the cosmic-imperial system." (p. 31)

Thereafter, we are flipflopped again as the text takes on the master-student or philosopher-adversarius mode of traditional Chinese texts such as Yang Hsiung's 揚雄 (53 B.C.-A.D. 18) *Fa-yen* 法言:

Someone asked me about this [the comments on poetry and politics cited above from pp. 27-30].

I said: This is nothing more than an unkind context, attempting to diminish poetry by "exposing" its "true" motives. Our affection for poetry is not so fragile that it can be turned to contempt by the sly rhetoric of exposure, there are principles here with which we may agree: one function of poetry is indeed *hua* 化, "to transform and civilize," 變其視聽 "to change the way people see and hear things." If we choose to look at the relation between a literature and its society, we can hardly be surprised to discover that they support each other. If we choose to construe

that mutual support as literature reinforcing the values of a society, we will find that too. But to "expose" that relation creates the illusion that it is the sole determinate force in what is, in fact, an open and complex interaction between a literature and its society. The parts of a civilization are a living whole: even an art that promises autonomy and independence of social motives serves a social need for some realm of experience apparently free of social motive, and thus finds itself impelled by a negative social motive. (pp. 31-32)

In this chapter Owen also gives us five propositions for understanding Chinese poetry. The first is that a poem is usually presumed to be nonfictional. Meaning is not a matter of a metaphorical operation. The second involves the correlative structure of the universe discussed above. The third, which argues that significance and pattern exist in the world and are manifested by the poet's consciousness and his poem, seems a bit redundant. The fourth claims that the crossing of analogical levels is based on the principle of sympathetic resonance and categorical association. And the final proposition notes that although the poet may sometimes interpret a scene explicitly, he more often simply patterns his experiences and responds to it, leaving most of the associations to the reader (p. 34).

In Chapter Two, "Transparencies: Reading the Chinese Lyric" (pp. 54-57). Owen cautions against metaphorical readings because of the "nonfictional" nature of the poetry. These poems clearly show their meanings through a reading process Owen describes:

In the reading process the formation

of meaning is necessarily individual; meaning is something "done" by someone rather than an object to be known. It is not "meanings" that are shared by readers at a given time and place, but a common language, a common context of culture and literary tradition, and above all, a common concept of poetry's nature and the rules of literary reading. The most basic presumptions of the reading process can be inferred from theoretical and interpretive texts, but these are only a hollow set of general and indeterminate rules. They have subsistence only in enactment, and in enactment they become determined and individual. We must somehow allow the reading tradition to unfold in texts without binding ourselves to the historical categories of reading: we will seek neither to discover a biographical truth behind the text nor to bring a fullness "beyond words" back into the diminished realm of words. Let us call these readings "transparencies." (p. 62)

Owen further cautions that the modern dissociation of the poet from his persona does not apply to China, where half our task is "to read the poet," the other to "read the world." In one of the examples provided, Tu Fu's "K'o-t'ing" 客亭 (Pavilion for Travelers), Owen shows this method in action:

An autumn window, still daybreak's color,

秋窗猶曙色

Leaf-stripped trees, once again the tall wind.

落木更高風

Then the sun comes out beyond cold mountains,

日出寒山外

And the river flows on through last night's fog.

江流宿霧中

By our holy court no creature's cast aside,

聖朝無棄物
Frail now and sick, I've become an
old man.
衰病已成翁
How many experiences in this re-
mainder of life
多少殘生事
Are to blow on and fall with the rolling
tumbleweed?
飄零任轉蓬

(Owen's translation, p. 74)

The first four lines call on the reader to read the poet who is himself in the act of reading the world. The last four "emerge from Tu Fu's interpretation of the scene and its significance to himself; here we cease to see the physical world through Tu Fu's eyes and know Tu Fu apart from ourselves" (p. 74).

Poetry's derivation from the Chinese cosmos is the subject of Chapter Three, "An Uncreated Universe: Cosmogony, Concepts and Couplets." here Owen traces relations between formal aspects of the world about us and poetry:

The parallel couplet may not have come easily to medieval Chinese poets — the true form of nature is not necessarily obvious and easily presented — but the parallel couplet was also not a "poetic device," a mere craft for superfluous embellishment, preserved by a conservative poetic tradition. Parallelism was the formal linguistic manifestation of the structure of the natural world.

Someone broke in: Come now — these claims you are making for parallelism are excessive. Every literary tradition uses parallelism and antithesis. I'm afraid you've gone off the deep end here. I suppose you will now try to convince me by telling me how pervasive parallelism is in Chinese poetry; I will answer by reminding you that parallelism is the primary formal device of Hebrew

poetry.... Then you will argue for the strict precision of Chinese parallelism, its word-for-word matching; I will reply that in inflected languages such precision would be intolerably monotonous. I am not convinced.

I replied: You anticipate me — fine, I won't waste time trying to convince you with those two arguments. But I do insist that parallel relations in Chinese poetry have a complexity found nowhere else. And there is another, crucial difference between Chinese parallelism and parallelism elsewhere: in other traditions you read the words and recognize a parallel construction in them; often in Chinese you first assume that the couplet is parallel, and the assumption instructs you how to construe the words. This distinction differentiates a "formal device" from a form that is inseparable from the act of knowing. But these arguments are beside the point: the true reason that Chinese parallelism has a unique force lies in its special relation to models of the natural order. (pp. 86-87)

Aside from representing the larger world around it, "the couplet opposes a second threat — a vision of something standing alone" (p. 107) which, as we'll see below, Owen takes up in conclusion.

Chapter Four, "Voice" (pp. 108-162) focuses on translation as we'll see despite Owen's claim that "these essays are devoted to moving readers; translation is not our concern" (p. 121). Of course, he immediately reneges: "However, if we *were* interested in translation (as we may be in a short digression)," and by the next page he is already expounding on the relation between a translator and a poet:

In its very conception translation is the most self-effacing mode of writing, and the serious translator

moves with less freedom than any writer in any other mode. In every line and in every word, the translator studiously subordinates what *he* would say to what someone else has already said. (p. 122)

But, as is so often the case in this book, the dialectic goes on as he provides a counterargument (p. 124):

Translation is the least self-effacing mode of writing: it is, at heart, a willful act of domination. The translator shapes the work of another into what he would have it be, then presents the work as the poem itself. Translation replaces the original text. Even face to face with the original poem in a bilingual edition, the translation dominates the original; intended for readers with an imperfect command of the original language, such editions carry the translator's text back to control the understanding of the original text.

His two versions of the same poem (Tu Fu's "P'o-ch'uan" 破船 [Broken Boat]; pp. 116 and 125-126) further illustrate these two concepts of translation.

A number of annotations of poems and even pieces of prose make up the next two chapters, Five, "Learning Lessons" (pp. 163-190), and Six, "Rebellions" (pp. 191-222). The latter is particularly interesting, because in a sense it represents a subtheme of the book: rebellion.

At the outset, on the first page of the Prologue (p. 3), Owen tells us that "this book is an introduction to the art of Chinese poetry." Yet he knows very well that this language recalls James J. Y. Liu's noted study *The Art of Chinese Poetry*. Owen and Liu have challenged each other in review exchanges

and seem clearly to head their respective generations of students of Chinese poetry (in the United States, at least). Rebelliousness.

Owen's style is paradoxical. Although forewarned, we are jerked about throughout his text by digressions, adversaria, asides and an occasional (unnoticed? intentional?) contradiction (Owen engages in what I see as metaphoric readings of Chinese poems often in the last few chapters). Rebelliousness.

Finally, let us examine his identifications in the text. In his commentary on Tu Fu's "Ch'un-jih i Li Po" (春日憶李白) (Remembering Li Po on a Spring Day), and of Tu Fu's poems written for Li in general, Owen notes a blandness. But he warns, "blandness in Tu Fu is restraint, and its presence may suggest the suppression of forbidden impulses" (p. 212). A part of Owen's trenchant commentary to this piece focuses on the first line: 白也詩無敵 "Po it is — no rival in poetry." Owen notes: "Po it is" 白也—a locution that belongs to the *Analects*, a strange and boldly prosaic locution in poetry . . . (p. 213). In the process of invoking the *Analects*, VI.9 to show Yen Hui as a parallel to Li Po here, "we scarcely notice Tu Fu has assumed the voice of the undisputed Master, Confucius," Owen argues. "*We know that voice well*" [emphasis mine], he goes on (p. 213). We know it, because Owen himself has used it in his philosophic dialogues with his adversaria throughout the text: "Someone asked" and "I replied" are actually *huo-yüeh* 或曰 and *tzu-yüeh* 子曰 — the Master replied or said — in the original Chinese formulation. Rebellious.

This rebelliousness carries us beyond Chapter Seven ("A Special Form of Discourse," pp. 223-250, treating the

occasional poem) to the concluding Chapter 8, "Alone" (pp. 251-287). Indeed, Owen or *Omen* or anything but *Open*, is again dealing in "opacities." The chapter is essentially an explanation of why Chinese poets sought to have themselves and their qualities known through poetry. Owen begins:

To seek recognition through a poem was an act for others, a public act, and it often referred the reader to the largest public context of all, the imperial government. Traditional Chinese literature and civilization cannot be understood without grasping the unique *emotional* power which government and public service exercised over men's lives and imaginations. That power is sometimes expressed directly; sometimes it is only implicit; it lurks behind the celebration of drunken insouciance or the joys of retreat no less than it dominates the plea for preferment. If invisible in the text itself, the public context will often be supplied as the secret frame of reference by commentators and readers. (p. 252)

This is a reading, despite the reference to the "secret frame of reference," through "transparencies" and it is certainly perceptive. Before providing examples for the varieties of being alone, however, Owen returns to the earlier theme of the poem as truth or truth as the poet perceives it:

As every great literature has its version of hell, so each may be driven by its own version of thwarted love. This need to be recognized, favored, and have one's worth acknowledged by the remote senior (whose remoteness is ritualized because the pattern requires it) may have been a primary force not only in much classical poetry, but even in the workings of imperial

civilization as a whole. For centuries men exhausted their lives in the struggle for that love and favor, and the fervor of the need mocks the blandness of the ethical commonplaces that pretend to explain it. (p. 260)

So what have we by way of a conclusion? Perhaps a plea by a critic of Chinese poetry who stands out from his colleagues by his familiarity with his own literary heritage and with contemporary movements to the "senior literary critics" of America — the post-moderns in all their guises and venues (Owen was, after all, for years a student and then professor at Yale)? Or is it a petition to James J. Y. Liu, Owen's most professional partner and the author of a rival "art of Chinese poetry"? Or an ironic appeal to many of his slightly "senior" colleagues in Chinese Studies, those of us who are a bit older, but still recognize him as the major voice today? Should we all come to read the world of Chinese poetry as a vast, fluctuating Owenscape, and the poet as the Owen-reader of the world? "Perhaps," someone wrote.

Sangren, although he cites a few of the Post-modern "names," is really not offering a Post-modern argument. He leaves few ends open but, like Rowe and Hansen, asserts his own approach. Rowe, with whom I've discussed his book, says: "If there is a Post-modernist sentence in my book it was written unconsciously!" Although I have tried to force these three studies into a modified Post-modern framework, they still won't fit.

Owen is another story. Not only would I argue that *Omen* is Post-modern, but Owen's future work, *Mi-lou* 迷樓 (Labyrinth), a multivolume study, in

his own words, "makes *Omen* look tame, building not on the reasonable poetics of *Omen's* first half, but on the darker poetics of the second half. . . ."4 Owen describes the work further:

In the introduction to *Mi-lou* I spoke of emptying all the drawers of the museum onto the floor and rearranging the bits and pieces in pleasing patterns. One creates an essentially "poetic" relation between texts (hence the "third poetry"5) so alluring that is not longer matters that the relation is historically improper. In the long run such relations are more true to our liberty of reading than the forms of interpretation imposed by the historicist academy, which has devised rules precisely to restrict such liberty. . . . The motive is consonant with the goals of deconstruction, yet deconstruction became so deeply caught up in its theoretical position, which, as I suggested earlier, trapped it in historicism and the assumptions of historicism. It was so deeply committed to informing us of the truth — that anything might be the truth — that it could not see it was obeying the very standards it was trying to overthrow. The dialectic between historicist "truth" and something else must be accomplished more subtly.

But Owen is not an *Omen*. His work does not typify the field. Although recent symposia such as that on "Food, Famine and the Chinese State" in the *Journal of Asian Studies* (41 [1982]) or that on "Chinese Narrative" in *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* (5 [1983]) or that on "Women in Qing Period China" in the most recent issue of the *Journal of Asian Studies* (46 [1987]) demonstrate by their nature (joint efforts) and content that Owen

is not the only scholar influenced by Post-modernism, the vast majority of research in Chinese Studies has moved to a different beat. If a trend is visible, I would suppose that it is a closer attention to modern scholarship written in Chinese such as can be seen most clearly in Rowe's work.

The Germans had a saying in the 1970s: "We have everything the Americans do — just three years later than they." Chinese Studies are similar, although the time gap may be closer to three decades. The field is still dominated by philology, by the Chinese language with which we Westerners are constantly struggling.

That Owen has made such headway in Post-modernism is also not without explanation. First, he is a professor of Chinese languages and literature and thus perhaps slightly more proficient in the language than the average social scientist who approaches China. Second, although it has shown itself in various areas, Post-modernism has been centered in literary studies.

Chinese Studies in the 1980s have also been concerned with retrenching and reassessing — much like in many other fields. But since Post-modernism played a relatively small role in the field in the decades when it dominated other disciplines, it has left less of a mark on us. It has fostered some theories, has produced some interesting works, but it has by no means been a major force. The "senior" Owen seeks is unlikely to pay him heed. And the future of the field seems to be under discussion in the growing tendency toward group scholarship.⁶

NOTES

- ¹ For a comparison of the general trends — at least in the teaching of literature, see Gerald Graff, *Professing Literature, An Institutional History* (Chicago and London: U of Chicago P, 1987). Graff's fourth chapter, "Scholars versus Critics: 1940-1965" (183-246), seems best to depict the current state of Chinese Studies.
- ² Sangren, having read over my comments, notes in marginalia to an early draft of this paper: "This is really the view that much of Part III sets out to dispel; it is not incorrect, it just doesn't explain much."
- ³ This use of language can certainly also be seen in early historians, such as Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷.
- ⁴ The following excerpts are from personal correspondence with Owen (his letter dated 26 April 1987).
- ⁵ This "third poetics" is treated in Owen's "The Historicity of Understanding," *Tamkang Review* 14 (1983-4): 435-464.
- ⁶ Aside from recent symposia noted in the text, joint works such as Gunther Debon's *Neues Handbuch der Literatur Wissenschaft, Ostasiatische Literaturen* (see Appendix) or the *Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* I compiled may be cited here. The *Companion* involved over 170 collaborators and has been termed "a missionary effort" by Glen Dudbridge (in a review in the *Times Literary Supplement* (9 May 1986): 511), because of the tendency to introduce new literati or works (influence by modern Chinese scholarship). Actually, this tendency seems to have begun with the conferences organized by Arthur F. Wright in the early 1960s (marking a kind of Post-modern attitude?).

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The First Chinese Drama in English Translation

A. Owen Aldridge



English audiences were introduced to Chinese drama in the middle of the eighteenth century when three different versions of the Yuan play *Chao-Shih-ku-erh* were presented on London stages. These productions represent little in the way of British research concerning Chinese dramatic tradition, however, since all three were renditions of a translation in French of the original play. One of these had passed through three metamorphoses: a translation by a French Jesuit, Joseph Henri Prémare, published in a famous compilation by another French Jesuit, DuHalde, *Description . . . de la Chine*; an adaptation of Prémare suited to French tastes by Voltaire, in his *L'Orphelin de la Chine*; and, finally, an adaptation of Voltaire's play by an English playwright Arthur Murphy. The two other renditions consisted of a more or less faithful translation of Voltaire and a translation of Prémare's version, the latter the closest to the Chinese original of the three British adaptations.

Thomas Percy, the antiquarian, moreover, made available to English readers "The Argument or Story of A Chinese Play acted at Canton. In the Year MDCCXIX." This prose synopsis appeared in an appendix to Percy's edition of an English translation of

the Chinese novel, *Hau Kiou Chooan*, published in 1761 under the title *A Pleasing History*. As editor, Percy explains that Chinese plays were customarily performed in the homes of mandarins during times of feasting. On these occasions the actors, richly attired, enter the hall and present to the guests an ornate book with a repertoire of 50 or 60 plays from which the principal guests choose one to be represented. Any play is immediately rejected, however, should it have a name among the characters similar to that of one of the guests. Percy adds that plays are sometimes acted on stages set up in the streets, but there are no regular theaters or playhouses.

Since the untitled play that Percy summarizes is highly complicated and devoid of realism, I shall present an even briefer synopsis than his. An old woman and her son are befriended by a mandarin's daughter. The son then enters the employ of another old woman and her daughter in a tea shop. A young licentious mandarin persuades the mother to allow him to take her into his house, but the girl objects and is rescued by the young man. In a series of confrontations, the girl rejects the attentions of two other mandarins and is ordered to be killed by one of them. The servants who are sent on this mission mistakenly seize the original mandarin's daughter in her place, wound her, and leave her for dead. In the meantime, the young man enters the realm of the Tartar Queen, where after the passage of indeterminate time he encounters his mother, the original mandarin's daughter and the girl from the tea shop. Returning to China, he marries the mandarin's daughter as his first wife, the tea-shop girl as his second, and is himself elevated

to the rank of mandarin.

The first direct translation of a Chinese dramatic work into English took place in 1817, when a pioneer British Sinologist John Francis Davis took another Yuan play from the same collection holding *Chao-Shih-ku-erh* and rendered it faithfully into his own language. The Chinese title of the play *Laou-Seng-Urh* by Wu Han-Ching was converted by Davis into *An Heir in His Old Age*. Equally important with this translation itself was an essay affixed to the published version in 1817 entitled "A Brief View of the Chinese Drama," the first formal treatment of the subject in any European language. It is not clear whether this essay is by Davis or some other hand.

After a left-handed compliment to the Jesuit missionaries to China, portraying them as more enlightened and less prejudiced than members of the other orders, the essayist observes that their publications reveal very little of the Chinese taste for lyric poetry or theatrical exhibitions. "We are left," he maintains, "almost wholly in the dark with regard to the nature of this kind of composition, as well as of the actual state of the drama, and indeed of that department of literature in general which is usually known by the name of *belles lettres*." The Jesuits, he suggests, have been overwhelmed by the Chinese reverence for ancient writings and as a result have "so stuffed their communications with excessive panegyric on the beauties of the four *King*, and the wisdom and virtues of *Yao* and *Shun*, as to leave themselves no time to inquire into the modern state of general literature."

For a second time gently rebuking Catholic commentaries, the essayist quotes from Morrison's Chinese grammar



Thirteen glimpses of Voltaire (from drawings by Hubert).

a Chinese author whom he credits with sounder views on literature than those possessed by either Père Cibot or abbé Grozier. This native source compares the progress of Chinese poetry to the gradual growth of a tree: "the ancient *She-king* (*the Book of Odes*) may be likened to the roots; when *Soo-loo* flourished, the buds appeared; in the time of *Keen-ngan* there was abundance of leaves; but during the dynasty *Tang*, many reposed under the shade of the tree, and it yielded rich supplies of flowers and fruit." Against the allegations of Cibot and Crozier that the theaters in China are comparable to houses of ill repute, the essayist affirms that dramas are instituted to inculcate virtue. He maintains, moreover, that there is no such thing as a public theater in China, and that dramatic representations are given either in the homes of the great and wealthy or in the open on the occasion of public festivals. "The Chinese are so passionately fond of scenic representations," he affirms, that in the great houses "no entertainment is ever given without a company of comedians to amuse the guests." The essayist provides a description of the

physical features of the Chinese stage, the first ever presented in a European publication. Comparing it to a booth at a European fair, he observes that a "Chinese company of players will at any time construct a theater in the course of a couple of hours; a few bamboos as posts to support a roof of mats, and a floor of boards, raised some six or seven feet from the ground; and a few pieces of painted cotton to cover the three sides, the front being left entirely open, are all that is required for the construction of a Chinese theater." Reminding his readers that in England the first painted cloths for movable scenes were those of Inigo Jones in 1605, he quotes a passage from Sir Philip Sidney to compare Chinese scenic improvisation with that in Elizabethan England.

At about the same period, a French engineer reported that the French colony at Canton, in order to repay their Chinese hosts for dramatic entertainments that had been given for their benefit, had staged French tragedies and comedies in a large hall in the concession. The plays were Voltaire's *Zaire* and Crebillon's *Rhadamiste*, and the audience included,

in addition to the Chinese guests, traders from other European countries and officers from merchant vessels in the harbor. [Charpentier de Cossigny, *Voyage à Canton*, 1799, p. 136] The same author indicates the presence of street theaters at the season of New Year. "As the streets are narrow, the theaters occupy the entire width, but passage is not cut off. The actors play continuously except at night. The spectators stand outdoors in the street, stopping at will to see the show and moving on when they please. They pay nothing, the costs no doubt being borne by the government."

Davis, in a separate publication provided a parallel glance at the English theater given by a native of China. It appears in a poem of ten stanzas entitled "London" translated by Davis himself. An entire stanza is given over to this unique description of the English stage of the regency period by a native Chinese.

Their theaters are closed during the
long days;
It is after dark that the painted scenes
are displayed:
The faces of the actors are handsome
to behold,
And their dresses are composed of
silk and satin:
Their songs resound in unison with
stringed and wind instruments,
And they dance to the inspiring note
of drums and flutes:
It constitutes the perfection of
harmonious delight,
Every one retires with a laughing
countenance. [Poeseos sinensis]

The essay accompanying Davis's translation of *Laou-Seng-Urh* affirms that a Chinese theatrical company usually "consists of eight or ten persons, who are literally the servants or slaves of

the master or manager. They travel about from place to place in a covered barge, on canals or rivers near to which most great cities are situated; these barges are their habitations, and in these they are instructed in their parts by the master." He adds that females are allowed on the stage, but persons who are free may not be purchased to be used in stage entertainments. He particularly emphasizes the point that many stage performances "would appear to descend into lowness and vulgarity, in the inverse ratio of the rank and situation in life of the parties for whose amusement they are exhibited." He may have based this singular opinion upon the nature of theatrical exhibitions witnessed by various travelers to the Middle Kingdom. A naturalized American, Andre Everard Van Bramm, for example, reported in 1797 that a performance he attended in the company of the emperor took place in the midst of the exchanging of gifts and the consuming of food. The performance consisted nearly entirely of acrobatics. A man balanced a ladder with his feet and a boy climbed up and down upon it for nearly a quarter of an hour; after this the acrobat performed the same feat with an enormous vase in which the boy climbed in and out. [I: 168] An English traveler, Sir George Staunton, who visited at about the same time, however, was entertained in a temporary theater in which the drama being presented had many resemblances to those of the English stage. "The piece represented an Emperor of China and his empress living in supreme felicity, when, on a sudden, his subjects revolt, a civil war ensues, battles are fought, and at last the arch-rebel who was a general of cavalry, overcomes his

sovereign, kills him with his own hand, and routs the imperial army. The captive empress then appears upon the stage in all the agonies of despair resulting from the loss of her husband, and of her dignity, as well as the apprehension for that of her honour. Whilst she is tearing her hair and rending the skies with her complaints, the conqueror enters, approaches her with respect, addresses her in a gentle tone, soothes her sorrows, and with his compassion talks of love and adoration; and like Richard the Third, with lady Anne in Shakespeare, prevails in less than half an hour, on the Chinese princess to dry up her tears, to forget her deceased consort, and yield to a consoling wooer. The piece concludes with the nuptials, and a grand procession." [272] Regardless of its moral tendencies, this play can hardly be considered as vulgar or obscene.

Van Bramm also had a favorite Chinese play, one which he had several times seen performed, but never in the imperial presence. He says that its Chinese title is *Chou-Fou-Kau* or *Fidelity Rewarded*. It concerns a mandarin summoned to the court who leaves behind him two wives, an infant child, and a faithful female servant. During his absence, the two wives afflicted with boredom desert the homestead, seeking adventure elsewhere. The servant remains with the child, caring for him as her only mission in life. One day when he has reached the age of thirteen and has fallen asleep from fatigue and undernourishment, she gently strokes him with a leather strap to awaken him, and he bounds up in anger, rebuking her for daring to chastize him when she is not his real mother. She sheds tears over his ingratitude, and they

are reconciled. Soon after the mandarin returns and is told that his wives have been reduced to servitude after abandoning him. He shows his gratitude to the faithful servant by promising to marry her, and the son renders homage to his father and to his future step-mother.

Our essayist quotes another European traveler to China, Barrow, who describes the dramatic portrayal of "a woman being condemned to be flayed alive, for the murder of her husband; she appears on the stage not only naked, but completely excoriated." This would seem to be an example of extreme realism attained by a high development of the cosmetic art. The essayist, in keeping with the comparatist flavor of his presentation, points out that similar scenes had been exhibited in England; Adam and Eve had appeared without clothing in mystery plays, and several persons had appeared almost naked in a pastoral play performed before James the First.

In his concluding remarks, the essayist reflects unfavorably on Prémare's translation of *Chao-Shih-ku-erh*, which he dismisses as "garbled" and "the solitary specimen of this kind of composition in any European language, before that which is now offered to the public." He accuses Prémare of omitting most of the poetry, a legitimate objection that has since been echoed by many Chinese authorities. Since these parts of the play are those which "have been compared with the Greek chorus, and in which sentiment, eloquence, passion, are all expressed," the English critic affirms that Prémare has "left out the very best parts of the play." The essayist says nothing about the merits of Davis's translation, an

indication perhaps that Davis and the essayist are the same person. He contents himself with the observation that "the comedy of *"An Heir in His Old Age,"* is the simple representation of a story in domestic life — a plain 'unvarnished tale,' in which Chinese manners and Chinese feelings are faithfully delineated and expressed, in a natural manner, and in appropriate language."

Davis's translation is clear, precise and presumably faithful to the original; indeed a long passage which has since been translated by a modern scholar is almost identical with the twentieth-century rendition. The play concerns the domestic problems of an old man, Lew, his wife, his second wife, his daughter, his son-in-law, and his nephew. The latter is an orphan who has inexplicably aroused the animosity of the first wife. Lew in a soliloquy says he had planned to divide his property equally between his nephew and his daughter, but has just learned that his second wife is pregnant and does not know whether the offspring will be a girl or a male heir. The son-in-law tells the daughter that he has married her only in hopes of gaining her inheritance and that these hopes will be frustrated if a son is born to the second wife. He accordingly threatens to have her killed unless she leaves the household, and when she does so he tells Lew that she has run away with another man. Lew assumes that this stroke of ill fortune has descended because of his avarice, and he vows to distribute alms at the temple on the next day. The focus then shifts to the memorial rites for family ancestors. The wife perceives that the daughter worships at the graves of her husband's family, but neglects those of her father's. In the meantime,

the nephew at great personal sacrifice tends the graves of his uncle's family. Realizing that the nephew is more dependable than the son-in-law, the wife has a change of heart toward the nephew. The son and daughter-in-law are banished, and the family keys delivered to the nephew. After three years pass, the daughter and son-in-law return, and the nephew intercedes for them. The second wife and her child also appear. Lew's daughter then explains to her father that her husband had wanted the wife killed, but that she had realized that if anything happened to this wife his posterity would be cut off. She had accordingly concealed the wife in a place of safety and brought up the child. She then implores him not to harbor resentment against herself, his own daughter. "Though you have a dutiful nephew, how can he be compared to your own child?" The father thereupon divides his property among his daughter, nephew and infant son. He concludes with thanksgiving: "When we went to the tombs, at the usual season, to perform the rites, the feelings of affection returned, and jealousy became changed to love. — Thus by pointing out the desolate spot, I taught a bitter lesson to my old wife; — nor did I give away a part of my wealth in vain, for, by the favor of Heaven, I have an heir in my old age!"

Shih Chung-Wen in her survey of Yuan drama considers *Laou-Seng-Urh* only in regard to the theme of filial piety. The action, however, is not really based on the virtue of the nephew, but on the selfishness of the first wife and the wickedness of the son-in-law. Other themes are those of avarice, of the tragic disgrace of not having an heir, of the superiority of a literary

life to a mercantile one, of the necessity of continued homage to one's ancestors, of the greater dependability of blood relations to those entering the family through marriage, and of the greater importance of male offspring than female, for "a daughter is born to be of another family." These themes are presented in a sentimental manner. If the play is a comedy as Davis describes it, it is a "comédie larmoyante" rather than a farce or a display of wit.

Indeed two reviews of Davis's translation embodied discussions of whether the play is properly a comedy at all. One was anonymous in the *Quarterly Review* in 1817 and the other by the French Sinologist Abel-Remusat in the *Journal des Savans* in the following year. The *Quarterly* reviewer notes that the divisions of the drama closely approximate those of most European nations. It has four acts and a *sie-tsze* or prologue, which the reviewer compares to that in Greek drama. The resemblance, he adds, "does not stop here. The lyrical compositions, which in the serious and historical plays are more frequent than in dramas like the one in question, bear a very striking affinity to the chorus of the old Greek tragedy, with all due distance, however, as to taste and genius, and like the chorus too, they are sung with an accompaniment of music." Referring to Davis's observation that these songs are usually obscure, the reviewer expresses the opinion that "they are meant to convey some sage reflection, or some moral truth, bearing on the subject of the dialogue, and that their obscurity is owing to the figurative significance of the symbols." [16: 406] The French reviewer, Abel-Remusat says nothing about the resemblance of the play to Greek drama

beyond indicating that it does not to a great degree violate the classical requirement of the unities. Sceptical of Voltaire's principle that Chinese drama precedes the Greek in antiquity, he maintains that regardless of its age it has never enjoyed a place of honor. He contrasts *Laou-seng-urh* as a comedy with *Chao-Shih-ku-erh* as a tragedy. Although drawing attention to the sentimental or touching elements in *Laou-seng-urh*, he emphasizes that one scene portraying domestic emotions is "assaisonné de traits vifs et comiques" and another concerning beggars is "égayée par quelques tours de fourberie dont ces sortes de gens ont coutume d'user." [Janvier 1818, 33] He also observes that Davis has suppressed a small number of passages of gross indecency and insupportable ennui. Furthermore he charges that Davis has omitted almost one third of the complete work in order to render the drama more rapid and more conforming to the Western way of seeing things. These omissions he criticizes on the ground that the purpose of a translator is to portray the taste and genius of another nation, not to amuse frivolous readers, a point of view that could legitimately be debated in the context of modern theories of translation. [31] Abel-Remusat designates dramas such as *Chao-Shih-ku-erh* as light productions and suggests that those who translate them, using a knowledge of demotic Chinese, are slightly inferior to those who work with more conventional materials in European libraries. [29] He, nevertheless concludes that the play "se distingue par la simplicité du plan, le choix heureux des incidens, l'observation exacte des caractères, quelques situations comiques, et par

un style naturel et simple dans la prose, noble et élevé dans la mélodée." He is, therefore, in essential agreement with the English essayist that the play is a simple, unvarnished tale, faithfully portraying Chinese manners and feelings in natural and appropriate language.

Although it is not at all surprising that *An Heir In His Old Age* did not attain a popularity approaching Voltaire's *Orphelin de la Chine*, given the international fame of Voltaire, there may still seem reason for inquiring why Davis's translation remained in almost complete obscurity until the present day. An obvious reason is that it was never produced on the stage. Another is that it has never been reprinted and copies of the original edition are extremely

rare and available in only a select few of the major libraries in the West.

Finally, as many scholars have pointed out, the tide began to turn against China at the turn of the eighteenth century. Protestant missionaries looked upon Chinese religion with a different light from that of their Catholic predecessors, and a new breed of travelers and traders circulated highly critical accounts of Chinese ways of doing business. At the present time, almost two centuries later, the Western climate of opinion is once again highly favorable toward Chinese culture, and Davis's translation, if reprinted, might very well be elevated to a respectable place in the literary pantheon.

The Courage To Be: Suicide as Self-Fulfillment in Chinese History and Literature*

Joseph S. M. Lau

(劉紹銘)

This paper is fondly dedicated to Anthony C. Yu
of the University of Chicago

I

Contrary to common practice for professional papers, I would like to begin my discussion with a personal note. Since 1966 I have taught "Chinese Literature in English Translation" at the University of Wisconsin to help our undergraduates fulfill their "humanities requirements." Along with *The Book of Songs* 詩經, *Ch'u Tz'u* 楚辭, T'ang *ch'uan-ch'i* tales and major poets of the T'ang and Sung dynasties, we have read such selections as "The Biography of Ching K'o" 荊軻列傳 from *The Historical Records* 史記 by Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷, "Kan Chiang and Mo Yeh" 干將莫邪 from *Sou-shen chi* 搜神記, and *The Revenge of the Orphan of Chao* 趙氏孤兒大報仇雜劇 from *Yüan ch'ü-hsüan* 元曲選. Understandably, being brought up in a culture that treasures individual worth as a cardinal virtue, my students have constantly

been disturbed by the number of self-annihilations that occur in these works in the name of what Emile Durkheim would have classified as "altruistic" suicides.¹ Ever conscious of what the United States stands for in the cause of promoting human rights throughout the world, it has been quite common for my students to venture this question: Does self-killing in such a nonchalant manner reflect to some degree the fact that life in ancient China was relatively cheap?

Normally, when an instructor is confronted with such a question, he could easily suggest that the student consult some relevant titles after class. However, in this particular case one is at a loss for any specific references that treat Chinese suicide in terms of ethical or philosophical manifestations. Of course, if one's interest is not confined to Chinese examples, one can be truly overwhelmed by the sheer volume of

* A number of my friends and colleagues have contributed one way or the other toward the writing of this paper. In particular I want to thank Pi-twan Huang and Tzu-chang Chang, my former students at the University of Wisconsin, for helping me research this unpleasant subject. Grateful acknowledgment is also due to my home institution for providing me a semester of sabbatical leave for uninterrupted study and deliberation.

studies of suicide that have seen print since the publication of Durkheim's classic *Le Suicide* in 1897. In Jacques Choron's estimate, the total of books and articles in Western languages well exceeds seven thousand, even though the vast majority of them falls within the domain of "Psychological-General," "Sociological" and "Medical-Legal" studies.²

That the kind of "idiosyncratic" suicides committed by the *dramatis personae* in the Chinese works cited above cannot be explained in clinical terms is evident from the manner in which a specialist in a suicide-prevention clinic deals with his patient. It is reported that Ari Kiev, Director of the Cornell Program in Social Psychiatry once told his charge: "Look, you have a disease, just like the Hong Kong flu. Maybe you've got the Hong Kong depression. First, you've got to realize you are emotionally ill. . . ."³ Nor can it be analysed sociologically, the way Maurice L. Farber attributes the causes for suicide in modern American societies: "In our own culture, the findings in the following report on suicide causes for the city of San Francisco are fairly typical of the U.S. today. The list of precipitating causes in order of frequency is: 1. Poor health; 2. Economic stress; 3. Death of a loved one; 4. Domestic difficulties."⁴

To be sure, passing mention has been given to a number of suggestions as to why the Chinese do violence to their own persons. In a chapter entitled "Oriental Attitudes toward Suicide," Louis I. Dublin, for example, has correctly pointed out: "There are certain motives which were considered honorable in China, such as the suicide of generals who killed themselves after defeat;

tyrants who thus escaped impending doom; dethroned rulers and statesmen who thereby protested against political policies; wives who refused to survive their husbands; affianced women whose husbands died before the nuptial date; and those who committed suicide in memory of a dead father or ancestor."⁵

Hsien Rin, who is a medical doctor by training, placed suicide in ancient China in three broad categories after he consulted "general representative stories of suicide written in the history of China [that] appear to be characteristic of legends and therefore reflect cultural influence."⁶ They are: 1) Politics and/or war; 2) loyalty to nation, emperor, or master; 3) family affiliation, such as a wife's loyalty to her dead husband.⁷

One of the more recent works on suicide in non-Western societies is Lee A. Headly's *Suicide in Asia and the Near East* (1983). But again, the *modus operandi* adopted by most contributors is by and large sociological, relying on data provided by governments or organizations such as Suicide Prevention Centers or the Samaritan Befrienders. Dr. Hsien Rin, whose earlier observation on this subject we have just cited, has, in collaboration with Tuan Chen, contributed a report on suicide in Taiwan to Headly's volume. The conclusion to his findings once again makes it clear that empirical research won't be of much help in answering my students' questions. Dr. Rin utilized four sources of data as a basis for his research: 1) national statistics; 2) clinic case studies of attempts; 3) suicides reported by newspapers; 4) and suicide attempts among inpatient psychiatric cases. His self-assessment of this approach is worth quoting: "One is aware of the limitations in basing a discussion of etiological and

ecological factors in suicide on information from official records. The same criticism can be leveled at many studies of suicide in varying cultures."⁸

II

My search for an answer to whether life in ancient China was considered cheap has convinced me that such an answer can only be sought within the context of the Chinese value system. As Anthony Giddens rephrases it for Durkheim, "the existence of any form of society necessitates the existence of moral regulation, and what is demanded of the individual by the obligations entailed in this does not always accord with his private wishes or inclinations: hence morality implies sanctions."⁹ Thus it behooves us to examine the extent to which the ramifications of such ethical concepts as *chung* 忠 (loyalty), *hsiao* 孝 (filial obedience), *chieh* 節 (chastity/integrity), *yi* 義 (righteousness), *jen* 仁 (goodness/benevolence), and other personal codes of honor molded the Chinese mentality in traditional China. Since the above terms recur frequently throughout this paper, a note of explanation about their English translation is in order. These terms are most recalcitrant for the translator. As James R. Hightower reminds us in his study of *Han Shih Wai Chuan* 韓詩外傳: "Technical words, even within the limits of usage of a single school at a given period, seldom have a single equivalent English word."¹⁰ Thus *jen* is rendered as "virtue" by James Legge; "Goodness" by Arthur Waley; and "benevolence" by D. C. Lau.¹¹ The fact of the matter is, the implications of these words are simply too broad and complex to be pinned down by a

single equivalent. In most cases, the proper meaning has to be understood in its immediate context. For this reason, it seems the most sensible thing would be to leave them untranslated. The only drawback to this practice is that when phrases such as "a man of *jen*" or "a woman of *chieh*" appear too often in the text, it becomes cumbersome for the reader to follow. To keep textual confusion and stylistic infelicities to a minimum, I will use an English translation for each of these terms according to the best of my judgment. It will be followed parenthetically by the original word in romanization.

We will begin our discussion of Chinese suicide by examining the text of "Kan Chiang and Mo Yeh." We are told that when the sword-maker's son, Ch'ih 赤, reached manhood, he asked his mother Mo Yeh the whereabouts of his father. After learning that Kan Chiang was unjustly executed by the King of Ch'u, the son's mind was occupied with nothing but thoughts of avenging his father. His desire for vengeance was such that he managed to appear in the King's dream warning the latter of his intention. Accordingly, the King posted a reward for his capture. Ch'ih then took refuge in the mountains where he met a stranger.

"I've heard that the King has set a price of one thousand gold pieces on your head," the stranger said. "If you give me your head and sword, I will avenge your father's death for you."

"I would be very much obliged!" said Ch'ih, who then drew his sword over his own throat. Still standing erect, he held his head and sword with both hands and presented them to the stranger.

"I won't fail you," the stranger said. Only then did the young man's

corpse fall over. True to his words, the stranger acted as the surrogate-avenger for Ch'ih. He took the young man's head to the King and demanded that it be boiled in a cauldron. After three days and nights, however, the head still did not dissolve. The stranger then invited the King to come by the cauldron and take a look. As the King was looking down into the cauldron, the stranger decapitated him. Afterwards he directed the sword at his own head and it also fell into the boiling water.¹²

According to an earlier account in *Wu Yüeh ch'un-ch'iu* 吳越春秋 quoted by Yüan K'o 袁珂, after the King's head fell into the cauldron it immediately engaged in a fight with Ch'ih's. Fearing that the young man was no match for the King, the stranger cut off his own head to assist Ch'ih in his battle. The three heads fought fiercely for seven days before they finally disintegrated.¹³

It is precisely in the light of such supernatural elements that Yüan K'o has designated this tale as a "myth" 神話, even though in the Western tradition it would be more appropriate to classify it as a legend 傳說 because the protagonists in question are human rather than supernatural beings. However, there are certain advantages in taking this tale as a mythical demonstration of moral paradigms in traditional Chinese culture. At once familiar and strange, the imagination that sustains the narrative is that of a shared ethos rather than an individualistic consciousness. As soon as Ch'ih is old enough to be cognizant of such sentiments as later echoed in *The Book of Rites* 禮記 that "With the enemy who has slain his father, one should not live under the same heaven,"¹⁴ his life is already defined for him. He would be a living

disgrace to his family and society if his father's death were to remain unavenged.

Since Ch'ih was unable to assassinate the King, the least he could do was to surrender his life to someone who could do the job for him. While Ch'ih's self-destruction can be explained in terms of filial obligation, we have to look elsewhere for a probable answer to the stranger's puzzling behaviour. Nominally, he has agreed to carry out his mission for the reward. But, as we have seen, his mercenary motive is at once overridden by his genuine concern for Ch'ih, so much so that he eventually surrenders his own life to help Ch'ih avenge his father in the underworld.

Reading this legend as a celebration of the "class struggle" between the oppressor and the oppressed, Yüan K'o appears to be more impressed with the nameless stranger than with the vengeful son. Perhaps in Yüan's eyes, Ch'ih's self-immolation, admirable as it may have seemed in feudal times, is nothing more than an effort to redress a personal grievance. The stranger, in Yüan's conjecture, could be in the same profession as Ch'ih's father — a sword-maker who has narrowly escaped the King's tyranny.¹⁵ If this argument is tenable, then the stranger is the murdered man's comrade giving his life to eliminate a common class enemy.

On the other hand, if we may speculate further, it can be argued that the stranger, despite his vaunted motive, is at heart a *hsia* 俠 or a knight-errant. In James J. Y. Liu's words, "One of the most remarkable characteristics of the knight-errant is their altruism. They habitually helped the poor and the distressed, and often risked their own lives to save others. Their unselfishness

extended not only to their friends but even to strangers, . . ."¹⁶ His self-sacrifice thus embodies the nobility of righteousness (*yi*). But whatever his true identity, the stranger's self-sacrifice, together with Ch'ih's compliance with a given ethical code, has been consolidated into a repository of ancient values only to reassert themselves in later literature.

Because myths and legends subsist on elements of the supernatural and the fantastic, one would not question the authenticity of the dramatic details that typify a tale like "Kan Chiang and Mo Yeh". For examples of suicide that are presented as historical facts, let's turn to the biography of Ching K'o in *The Historical Records*. It is recorded that after Prince Tan of Yen confided "matters of state" to T'ien Kuang 田光, the prince cautioned him not to let word of it leak out. Thereupon T'ien Kuang paid a visit to Ching K'o and solicited his service in behalf of the prince. Almost as an afterthought, T'ien Kuang advised Ching K'o: "They say that a worthy man does not act in such a way as to arouse distrust in others. Now the prince has warned me that the matter we discussed was of vital concern to the nation and begged me not to let word of it leak out. Obviously he distrusts me, and if my actions have aroused his distrust, then I am no gentleman of honor!"¹⁷

At this point T'ien Kuang had already made up his mind to commit suicide in order to end the prince's suspicion on the one hand and to spur Ching K'o to action on the other. So he continued: "I want you to go at once and visit the prince. Tell him I am already dead, so he will know that I have not betrayed the secret!" With this he cut his throat and died.

There is no mention in the text as to whether Ching K'o had attempted to restrain his friend from taking such drastic action. In any event, we are immediately informed that no sooner had T'ien Kuang drawn his last breath than Ching K'o was seen reporting to the prince what had transpired. In order to gain the confidence of the King of Ch'in so that he could get close enough to assassinate him, Ching K'o wanted the head of General Fan Yü-ch'i 樊於期 as a greeting "present." General Fan had formerly been in the service of the Ch'in tyrant and now had taken refuge in the state of Yen. Ching K'o realized that the prince would not have the heart to betray him and accordingly decided to take the matter directly to Fan.

In a business-like manner, Ching K'o reminded the general of the harsh treatment he received from the tyrant, that his parents and members of his whole clan had been executed, and that a reward of one thousand catties of gold and a city of ten thousand households had been offered for his head. Afterwards, Ching K'o volunteered a solution to him: "Give me your head, so that I can present it to the King of Ch'in! Then he will surely be delighted to receive me."¹⁸

To this General Fan replied: "Day and night I gnash my teeth and eat out my heart trying to think of some plan. Now you have shown me the way!"¹⁹ He then took his own life in front of Ching K'o.

Now the manner in which this famous assassin demands General Fan's head is just as unapologetic as the stranger's in the tale "Kan Chiang and Mo Yeh" discussed above. In both cases the requests are met with equal alacrity.

Does this self-disposal of life lend any credence to David Hume's (1711-1776) alarming remark that "the life of a man is of no greater importance to the universe than that of an oyster"?²⁰ An answer to this demands a brief look at the stance toward suicide before Hume's times. Plato (427-347 B.C.), who views life in terms of body-ownership, considers man a "chattel of God", the way a slave is a "chattel" of his owner, and he therefore has no right to dispose of his own life. Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), though his quest for knowledge differs from Plato's metaphysics, is in agreement with his teacher on the issue of suicide. In fact, he goes a step further by defining a brave man as one who is fearless in the face of a noble death because of a sense of honor. However, to be killed in a battlefield or in other emergencies is one thing, whereas to take one's life in order to escape a crisis or to avoid suffering and pain is a totally different matter. As Jacques Choron interprets it, "suicide is a cowardly act. Since it deprives the state of a citizen, it is a crime similar to a soldier's desertion of his post."²¹

A different understanding of the meaning of life and death is found in the writing of Seneca (4 B.C.-A.D. 65). Ordered to commit suicide for an alleged conspiracy against Nero, this Roman Stoic had earlier considered the morality of suicide and he was of the opinion that "mere living is not a good, but living well. Accordingly, the wise man will live as long as he ought, not as long as he can. . . . It is not a question of dying earlier or later, but of dying well or ill. And dying well means escape from the danger of living ill."²² A determined advocate of freedom, he urged his fellowmen to master their

own fate by declaring: "the foulest death is preferable to the cleanest slavery."²³

In this view, Hume's argument for the right of self-extermination is essentially a desire to escape the onerousness of dying ill. Indeed, when a man is "tired of life, and hunted by pain and misery,"²⁴ he becomes as much a burden to himself as to society. Thus, he concludes his essay on suicide with the assertion that: "If it be no crime, both prudence and courage should encourage us to rid ourselves at once of existence when it becomes a burden. 'Tis the only way we can then be useful to society."²⁵

III

In the final analysis, whether a man's life has more importance in the universe than that of an oyster depends on his self-image as well as his perception of human relationships. Plato disapproves of suicide because one cannot destroy something one does not own. Aristotle decries self-murder on grounds of civil responsibilities. Seneca's position is more self-centered: Life is worth living so long as one's freedom is not threatened. To the extent that suicide is taken as an expedient means to end suffering, it is passive self-destruction.

All of the Chinese characters instanced in the works cited above have "died well" in the Senecan sense. Each of them has used himself as a vehicle for the fulfillment of a worthy cause in his own definition. When life is conceived as a series of obligations to be honored, and when one takes upon himself the role of executor of these obligations, one could not possibly think of himself as anything less than

a missionary. Self-sacrifice, then, denotes a positive gesture affirming the sanctity of human existence. On the part of the suicide, it is also a process of self-fulfillment. As Y. P. Mei put it, human obligations "are essential to the fulfillment of the supreme mission of man, for man to break out of his individual shell and become completely social, human, and therefore divine. . . ." ²⁶

Apparently, when one elects to live up to one's moral obligations, one may be forced to make a choice between the "fish" and the "bear's paws". Mencius made the choice unequivocally:

I like fish, and I also like bear's paws. If I cannot have the two together, I will let the fish go, and take the bear's paws. So, I like life, and I also like righteousness [*yi*]. If I cannot keep the two together, I will let life go, and choose righteousness.

I like life indeed, but there is that which I like more than life, and therefore, I will not seek to possess it by any improper ways. I dislike death indeed, but there is that which I dislike more than death, and therefore there are occasions when I will not avoid danger. . . .

Therefore, men have that which they like more than life, and that which they dislike more than death. They are not men of distinguished talents and virtue only who have this mental nature. All men have it; what belongs to such men is simply that they do not lose it. ²⁷

Similar sentiments have been expressed by Han Ying (fl. B.C. 150) in *Han Shih Wai Chuan*. I quote Hightower's translation below:

The Prince Pi-kan sacrificed himself and thus completed his loyalty [*chung*]. Liu-hsia Hui sacrificed himself and

thus completed his trustworthiness [*hsin* 信]. Po-i and Shu-ch'i sacrificed themselves and thus completed their integrity [*lien* 廉]. These four sages were all of them the empire's gentlemen of understanding. Nor is there any question of their not valuing their persons. If *yi* 義 is not established and his fame not apparent, a gentleman is ashamed; this is why they sacrificed themselves and so brought to perfection their [ideal of] conduct." ²⁸

What should be stressed in the above quotation is this line: "Nor is there any question of their not valuing their persons." In other words, life must have seemed so uncompromising to these four "sages" that they felt compelled to affirm it with their deaths. To be sure, both Mencius and Han Ying were echoing Confucius's call for the realization of the all-pervasive principles of *jen*. The Master said: "The determined scholar and the man of virtue will not seek to live at the expense of injuring their virtue [*jen*]. They will even sacrifice their lives to preserve their virtue complete." ²⁹

Though the "determined scholar" and "the man of virtue" referred to in this Confucian persuasion are probably confined to men, this admonition carried equal force for womenfolk. As Andrew Hsieh and Jonathan D. Spence have discovered, the Confucian ideal of sacrificing one's life for the preservation of Goodness (*jen*) that is "drawn from the political world of males was rapidly transposed into the ethical world of female behaviour." ³⁰ Among the works Hsieh and Spence consulted in their study is Liu Hsiang's 劉向 (B.C. 77-6) *Biographies of Women* 列女傳. To demonstrate how the concepts of *jen* and *yi* affected the conduct of ancient

Chinese women, I quote the biography of Lady Chao of Tai 代趙夫人 below:

Lady Chao, wife of the King of Tai, was the daughter of Chao Chien-tzu 趙簡子 and the sister of Chao Hsiang-tzu 趙襄子. After Chien-tzu's death and before the mourning period was over, Hsiang-tzu ascended Mount Hsia-wu and beguiled the King of Tai to join him for a meeting. He ordered the cooks to serve the food to the king and his followers in bronze vessels. When wine was being poured, [Hsiang-tzu] instructed his attendants to assassinate the king and his followers with the vessels. Thereupon he sent his troops to subdue the land of Tai and was prepared to take his sister Lady Chao [as his wife]. But the lady told him: "I was charged by our late father to serve the King of Tai and I have served him for more than ten years. You have killed him, though he did nothing to provoke you. Now my husband is dead, where am I to return? I have heard that a woman of righteousness [*yi*] would not remarry. How could I take a second husband? Where do you intend to take me to? Betraying the memory of one's husband to comply with the desire of one's brother violates the principle of righteousness [*yi*]. On the other hand, it is contrary to the spirit of benevolence [*jen*] to bear grudges against one's brother on account of a murdered husband. For this reason I can no more bear grudges against you than I can marry you. Thereafter she wept and called on Heaven. She killed herself at a place called Mi-chi. The people of Tai all cherished her memory. . . .³¹

That the boundaries of meanings in certain Chinese ethical terms often crisscross is evident in the way Lady Chao invoked them. In the name of *yi*, Lady Chao refused to take a second husband. She could have invoked the

moral dictates of *chieh* (chastity) with equal force. In Mencius's definition, *yi* is "straight path".³² Faithful to the memory of her husband, she is at the same time abiding by the quality of *chung* (loyalty).

Lest my remarks above be misconstrued as a vain attempt at *cheng-ming* 正名 or "rectification of names," I must hasten to point out that due to the imprecise nature of valuational terms in Chinese ethics, a person who claims to have given his life for one thing may not be seen by others in the same light. For example, in Han Ying's opinion, Po-i and Shu-ch'i starved themselves to death in fulfillment of the expectations of "integrity" (*lien*), whereas in *The Historical Records*, Ssu-ma Ch'ien canonized them for their "righteousness" (*yi*).³³

But of course, except for the scholars, no one would argue whether Lady Chao's suicide was appropriate. So in the name of whatever cause that conformed to their idealization of values, the Chinese killed themselves one after another. We have seen how they have destroyed themselves in compliance with the demands of *hsiao*, *yi*, *jen* and other cherished codes of honor. In the examples below, we shall see how the concept of *chung* has engendered numerous incidents of martyrdom in Chinese history and literature.

Unlike the unwieldy *jen* and *yi*, *chung*, like *hsiao*, poses little problem for the translator. I have seen no rendering of this term other than "loyalty". However, in common usage this word has often been appropriated by politicians almost exclusively to mean "loyalty to the ruler of the government." In point of fact, as Hsieh Yu-wei correctly pointed out: "For

Confucian ethics, it is incorrect to interpret loyalty [*chung*] as loyalty to king or prince. Loyalty means self-devotion, that is, doing one's duty with all one's strength. Loyalty is loyalty to one's duty as prescribed by *jen*, or the humanity within oneself."³⁴

Upon closer examination, loyalty to self and to the prince do not necessarily contradict. For a man in his position, T'ien Kuang's committing suicide so as to spur Ching K'o to action is as much a testimony of self-devotion as it is a demonstration of political loyalty. The King of Ch'in was an acknowledged tyrant. Brought up in a culture so heavily invested with the priorities of *jen* and *yi*, Ching K'o must have felt it his moral duty to have this tyrant eliminated. In such a case, it may be conceded that his loyalty to the state of Yen must have been predicated on his self-devotion. In other words, his suicide is a response to his inner compulsion to do "one's duty as prescribed by *jen*, . . ."

IV

For examples of *chung*, we turn to the Sung loyalists Lu Hsiu-fu (1236-1279) 陸秀夫 and Wen T'ien-hsiang (1236-1283) 文天祥. After repeated attempts to bring about a restoration of the empire had failed, Lu first "disposed" of his wife and children by pushing them into the sea at sword point. Afterwards, he placed the eight-year-old emperor Ti-ping on his back and committed suicide by walking into the sea.³⁵ While it is futile to speculate what kind of fate would have awaited him had he chosen to stay alive and allow the invading Mongols to take him captive, it can be assumed that in his mind he must have concurred with Seneca that

"the foulest death is preferable to the cleanest slavery."

Suicide is self-inflicted death. To the extent that a captured military officer or a government official refuses to surrender to the new ruler, this resolution can be seen as a desire for "vicarious suicide". Defeated by the Yüan forces, Wen T'ien-hsiang tried unsuccessfully to kill himself by swallowing *nao-tzu* 腦子 (Borneo-camphor). The Yüan general Chang Hung-fan, impressed by his loyalty to the fallen regime, did his best to win him over. "Sung has collapsed," Chang told him, "You have fulfilled your obligations of loyalty [*chung*] and filial obligations [*hsiao*] in your position as Grand Councilor [*Ch'eng-hsiang*]. Now if you will only serve Emperor Shih-tsu [of the Yüan dynasty] with the same kind of loyalty as you served the Sung, you will keep your title as Grand Councilor."

To which Wen T'ien-hsiang replied: "I deserve more than death for being a Sung subject without being able to rescue the country from ruin. How dare I hope to escape death by switching my loyalty?" After his execution, a note was found inside his gown which read: "Confucius speaks of the necessity to sacrifice one's life to fulfill the obligations of virtue [*jen*]. Mencius advocates the same necessity in terms of righteousness [*yi*]. Only when righteousness is completed can virtue be attained. For what other purpose should one study the works of the sages? With my death I shall have lived my life without shame."³⁶

The martyrdom of Lu Hsiu-fu and Wen T'ien-hsiang leaves little room for debate with regard to the propriety of their loyalty. They were Sung subjects

and the Mongols were non-Chinese "aliens". From a political point of view, they would have been labelled as turncoats had they sworn allegiance to the new government. From an ethnic point of view, they would have been stigmatized as traitors to their own race. But when it comes to the case of the Ch'ing loyalists, the connotations of *chung* take on new dimensions. In an illuminating article entitled "Romantics, Stoics, and Martyrs in Seventeenth-Century China," from which I benefitted enormously in preparing the discussion below, Frederic Wakeman, Jr. informs us that while "most political martyrs ... in this period were Ming loyalists, [another group of martyrs] consists of Qing [Ch'ing] loyalists among the Han bannermen who chose to remain loyal to the new dynasty during the revolt of the Three Feudatories."³⁷

The two Han banner leaders Wakeman selected for special attention are Governor-General Fan Ch'eng-mo 范承謨 (1624-1676) of Fukien, and Governor Ma Hsiung-chen 馬雄鎮 (1634-1677) of Kwangsi. For their opposition to collaboration with the feudal lords who were in revolt against the Manchus, they were thrown in jail and subsequently suffered a death far more brutal than any suicide described in this paper. Ma's martyrdom in Wakeman's account is particularly gruesome. At a banquet given by Wu Shih-tsung in Ma's honor, at which Wu hoped to procure his support for the mutinous cause, Ma refused to be prevailed upon. He reiterated his loyalty to the Ch'ing dynasty and railed at Wu San-kuei, Shih-tsung's grandson, for being a treacherous official. In the end Wu decided to get rid of Ma if he wouldn't change his mind. He ordered his guards to seize Ma's two

young sons and held knives to their throats:

Yield, [the guards] said, or his sons would die. Ma Xiongchen [Hsiung-chen] refused to compromise his and his family's honor, but could not bear to look on as the boys were slaughtered. Turning to the side, he steadfastly insisted that Wu Sangui [San-kuei] and his soldiers were no more than murderers and bandits. Moments later, Wu's men threw the bloody heads of his sons at Ma's feet. He shuddered, grabbed the heads in both hands, and thrust the bloody stumps in the faces of the soldiers. The assassins slashed back with their knives, and Ma reeled away long enough to pay obeisance to his emperor [Kang-hsi] before they struck him again and again, until he died.³⁸

When the news of the deaths of Ma and his two sons reached Kweilin where the rest of the family remained in confinement, all the women in the household, from Ma's wife to the female servants, hung themselves. The number of deaths totalled twenty-four. Wakeman considers Ma's martyrdom "truly tragic acts — incongruous and inevitable, heroic and ironic"³⁹ with good reason. Hsiung-chen's great-grandfather Ma Chung-te, after all, had been a great Ming loyalist, and one would presume that he would as gladly have laid down his life for the House of Ming as his grandson had martyred himself for the Manchus.

The Sung loyalists Lu Hsiu-fu and Wen T'ien-hsiang, we have seen, accepted death rather than renounce the defunct government because they didn't want to be remembered as an *erh-ch'en* 二臣, or officials who serve two dynasties. As Lynn A. Struve remarked, "when a dynasty fell, traditional morality called

for mortal sacrifice on the part of men (and their womenfolk) who had placed themselves in direct relation to the ruling house by earning formal degrees, accepting imperial bestowed honors, or by holding official military or bureaucratic positions."⁴⁰ If we use the deaths of Lu Hsiu-fu and Wen T'ien-hsiang as a yardstick to measure the degree of "orthodoxy" of one's political loyalty, then Ma Hsiung-ch'en's self-sacrifice would indeed appear "ironic" if only because he identified himself with the "alien" Manchus who conquered the Middle Kingdom from the hands of the Han Chinese.

What seems to be at issue is the interpretation of loyalty accorded varying sets of circumstances. To begin with, though Hsiung-ch'en's great-grandfather was a Ming loyalist, his father was a Manchu collaborator. And he himself would not have been promoted to such a high office as that of governor of Kwangsi if he had not enjoyed significant imperial favor. It is also possible that he either viewed the Manchus as having become sufficiently Sinicized for him to be identified with, or, to quote Gertrude Roth, he himself had "become Manchu."⁴¹ In any event, it is believed that most educated Chinese who came to maturity after 1644 "saw themselves as Ch'ing subjects, associated freely with Ch'ing officials, and in general responded positively to opportunities for public service under the new order."⁴²

Another factor that may explain Ma Hsiung-ch'en's different response to Ch'ing rule vis-à-vis that of his great-grandfather could be his genuine belief that the new dynasty embodied the clear Mandate of Heaven. The passage in *Kueilin Frost* 桂林霜 quoted by Wakeman is a valuable insight. At the

banquet hosted by Wu Shih-tsung mentioned above, Ma volunteered the opinion that the Ch'ing dynasty had "grasped the divine troops, killed the bandits, and settled the Central Plain; Heaven and the people belong to it."⁴³ Surely we cannot say that Ma's loyalty to the Ch'ing is just an article of blind faith. What do we make of this "loyalist"? In the narrow sense of an ethnic purist, he is of course a traitor. In the literal exegesis of the word *chung*, he is a Ch'ing patriot because he does what he considers to be his duty with all his strength. In Ma's case, the ambience of *chung* also embraces the virtue of *pao* 報 or reciprocity: he suffers his death at the hands of the insurgents to repay the favor and trust he received from the Ch'ing government.

V

But the sanctity of life as well as the meaning of death need not always be affirmed by suicide. At times it takes more courage to endure life than to receive death. Ssu-ma Ch'ien's work and life in "cleanest slavery" seem to offer a shining exception to Seneca's dictum. In his letter to Jen An, the Grand Historian listed a number of disgraces that can happen to a man, and he considered that "the worst disgrace of all is castration."⁴⁴ Under his circumstances, he confessed, "even a miserable slave-girl is capable of putting an end to herself."⁴⁵ But Ssu-ma Ch'ien decided to linger through his allotted years instead of taking his own life. "A man can die only once," he reminded his friend, "and whether death to him is as weighty as Mount T'ai or as light as a feather depends on the reason for which he dies."⁴⁶ He felt he owed it

to himself and his ancestors as well as to Chinese civilization to stay alive long enough to finish *The Historical Records*. His magnum opus has vindicated his lasting reputation as an honorable man who, when driven by a sense of mission, would opt for a form of punishment more cruel than death in order to create, in his own words, "a philosophy of my own."⁴⁷

Ssu-ma Ch'ien's sentiments are echoed in a debate between Ch'eng Ying 程嬰 (a palace physician) and Kung-sun Ch'uchiu 公孫杵臼 (a retired counselor to the Duke of Tsin) in *The Revenge of the Orphan of Chao*. This takes place in Act II after Ch'eng Ying has smuggled the baby orphan to the retired counselor's residence. The usurper T'u-an Ku 屠岸賈 threatened to slaughter all babies in the State of Tsin from one to six months old unless the son of his enemy Chao Shuo 趙朔 (the Prince Consort) was identified and executed in due course. Ch'eng Ying and Kung-sun were both indebted to the Prince Consort in one way or other when Chao Shuo was in power. For this reason, both men were guided by the consideration of *yi* to do their best to protect the orphan. Seeing no other way out, Ch'eng Ying volunteered to offer his own baby boy as an imposter-Orphan Chao and urged Kung-sun to report him to T'u-an Ku. If this proposal were accepted, Kung-sun would be left with the responsibility of bringing up the orphan to avenge his father.

Kung-sun protested, reasoning that he was already seventy years old whereas Ch'eng was only forty-five. In the end Kung-sun prevailed. T'u-an Ku, led by Ch'eng Ying, came to Kung-sun's hideout. The imposter-orphan was summarily put to death by the usurper

in front of the father. Kung-sun dashed his head on a stone to commit suicide, leaving his friend to face the terrible burden as the orphan's keeper.⁴⁸

Like other suicides cited earlier, Kung-sun gave his life in self-fulfillment. Ch'eng Ying, on the other hand, chose to stay alive after he was made to understand that it would take more sacrifice to live a life in pain as a bereaved father than to choose self-extinction. Both Ssu-ma Ch'ien and Ch'eng Ying have offered convincing arguments to the truism of Mencius's articulation on bravery and courage: "When it appears proper to sacrifice one's life, and *afterwards* not proper, to sacrifice it is contrary to bravery."⁴⁹

One can only wish that Mencius's advice had been available to those women in *Biographies of Women* who took their lives presumably to avoid breaking the laws of propriety. Lady Chao of Tai was torn between the memory of her murdered husband and the natural affection for her brother. Whether the causes she died for are "worthy" or not to the modern sensibility is irrelevant to the basic premise of this paper, which is more concerned with the motivations of self-killing than with a moralistic evaluation of it. She believed she had offered a good example to posterity for attending to the requirements of *jen* and *yi*. As Benjamin I. Schwartz observed, "One may indeed say that *jen* relates to the happiness of its possessor, but that this happiness is based wholly on a 'virtue ethic.' Virtue is happiness."⁵⁰ Borrowing an idea from Albert Camus's *The Myth of Sisyphus*, we should imagine Lady Chao's death to be happy.

But it is doubtful the same can be said of the wives recorded in

Biographies of Women who committed suicide in the name of *li* 禮 (propriety or "proper behavior" in Schwartz's translation) as described in the Hsieh and Spence article. They include: "A wife allowed herself to be burnt to death in her home, because there was no chaperon to escort her from the blazing building. A wife attempted suicide because the carriage sent by her husband to bring her home after an accident did not have the proper seats and hangings."⁵¹

We need go no further than what is stated above to discern that the understanding which these women possessed of *li* had more to do with ritual than with propriety proper. Schwartz has argued that the Confucian concept of *li* has a great deal to do with the "whole network of hierarchy and authority on which the normative sociopolitical order is based."⁵² On the other hand, it is equally legitimate to take *li* as a basis for the operation of reciprocity in personal as well as social relations in China. Unless we stretch the term *li* to encompass social etiquettes and ceremonial punctilios, it would be overstraining the case if we claim that these women died for a right-

eous cause.⁵³ Their deaths, it seems to me at least, were contrary to the concept of bravery in Mencius's description.

It is not my intention to provide an inventory of suicides in Chinese history and literature. Examples have been drawn for heuristic purposes, for illustrating the suicidal motifs that can be subsumed under the blankets of *chung*, *hsiao*, *chieh*, *yi*, *jen* and their ramifications. For this reason, even though I have not discussed love suicide (which belongs to the peripheries of *chung*), vengeful suicide (which is a form of *pao*), or suicide on account of shame (which is an expression of *ch'ih* 耻), I would like to think that what I have presented should make a useful index against which to measure these kinds of self-destruction. With the exception of those women who killed themselves due to a questionable understanding of *li*, it is my belief that in essence most of the suicides treated in this essay correspond to the Stoic recommendation of suicide summarized by Paul Tillich: that it is "not directed to those who are conquered by life but to those who have conquered life and are able to live and to die and can choose freely between them."⁵⁴

NOTES

¹ Durkheim's *Le Suicide* (1897; 2nd ed. 1967) is still a classic in this genre of study. It is available in English translation by John A. Spaulding and George Simpson under a modified title: *Suicide: A Study in Sociology* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951). Its normative terms for suicide such as "egoistic," "altruistic," and "anomic" are particularly useful for suicidologists of all descriptions. However, the reasons and circumstances under which Durkheim's "altruistic suicides" take their lives are necessarily at variance with those described in this paper. For one thing, Durkheim's statistics are drawn from three categories of "primitive people": 1) suicides of men on the threshold of old age or stricken with sickness; 2) of women on their husbands' death; 3) of followers or servants on the death of their chiefs. "The weight of [the primitive] society is thus brought to bear on him to lead him to destroy himself" (p. 219). Though some of the examples cited in my essay do corroborate Durkheim's findings in categories Two and Three on the sociological

level, our interpretation of the term "altruism" is characteristically different due to the difference in our methodological approaches, as we shall see in due course.

² See "Introduction," *Suicide* (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1972) 6-7.

³ Quoted by Thomas S. Szasz from *The New York Times* (February 9, 1969), in "The Ethics of Suicide," in *Ethical Issues in Death and Dying*, ed., Robert F. Weir (New York: Columbia UP, 1977) 383.

⁴ See Maurice L. Farber, *Theory of Suicide* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1968) 39.

⁵ *To Be or Not To Be: A Study of Suicide* (New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Hass, 1933) 164.

⁶ "Suicide in Taiwan," in *Suicide in Different Cultures*, ed., Norman L. Farberow (Baltimore: University Park Press, 1975) 241.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ "Taiwan," in *Suicide in Asia and the Near East*, ed. Lee A. Headley (Berkeley: U of California P, 1983) 79.

⁹ "Introduction," *Emile Durkheim: Selected Writings*, ed. & trans. Anthony Giddens (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1972) 28. I am grateful to my colleague Professor William H. Nienhauser, Jr., for alerting me to this work and for his editorial assistance.

¹⁰ *Han Shih Wai Chuan: Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1952) 3.

¹¹ For 當仁不讓於師 (*Lun yü*, XV: 35), Legge's translation is: "The Master said, 'Let every man consider virtue as what devolves on himself. He may not yield the performance of it even to his teacher,'" in *The Chinese Classics* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong UP, 1960), I: 304; Waley: "The Master said, 'When it comes to Goodness one need not avoid competing with one's teacher.'" in *The Analects of Confucius* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1938) 200; Lau: "The Master said, 'When faced with the opportunity to practice benevolence do not give precedence even to your teacher,'" in *Confucius: The Analects* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979) 137.

¹² A variant title for "Kan Chiang and Mo Yeh" is "San wang mu" 三王墓. The text I have consulted is found in Wang Shao-ying's 洪紹楹 annotated edition of *Sou-shen chi* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1979) 128-129. My translation for the quotations is based on Cordell D. K. Yee's, in *Classical Chinese Tales of the Supernatural and the Fantastic*, ed. Karl S. Y. Kao (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1985) 73-75.

¹³ See Yüan K'o's explanatory notes to the selection "Mei chien ch'ih" 眉間尺 (yet another title of "Kan Chiang and Mo Yeh") in *One Hundred Chinese Myths Selected for Translation* 神話選譯百題 (Shanghai: Shang-hai shu-chu, 1980) 277.

¹⁴ *Li Chi: The Book of Rites*, I, trans. James Legge (New Hyde Park: University Books, 1967) 92.

¹⁵ Yüan K'o 277-278.

¹⁶ *The Chinese Knight-Errant* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1967) 4. One of the most comprehensive treatments of the various aspects of *hsia* in Chinese to date is a recent work by Ts'ui Feng-yüan 崔奉源 entitled *A Study of Classical Chinese Short Stories in the Knight-Errant Tradition* 中國古典短篇俠義小說研究 (Taipei: Lien-ching ch'u-pan-she, 1986).

¹⁷ *The Historical Records* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1959), 86: 2530. This biography is translated by Burton Watson in *Anthology of Chinese Literature: From the Earliest Times to the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Cyril Birch (New York: Grove Press, 1965) 109.

¹⁸ Ibid., 2532; 112.

¹⁹ Ibid., 2533; 112.

- ²⁰ *Ethical Writings: Selections from David Hume*, ed. Alasdair MacIntyre (New York: Collier Books, 1965) 301.
- ²¹ *Suicide*, p. 112. I have benefitted from Choron's brief survey in Chapter 13 of "philosophers on suicide" which provided information regarding the attitudes of Plato and Aristotle on this subject.
- ²² Quoted from *Epistulae Morales* by Robert F. Weir, in *Death in Literature*, ed. Robert F. Weir (New York: Columbia UP, 1980) 230.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 232.
- ²⁴ Hume 300.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 305-306.
- ²⁶ "The Status of the Individual in Chinese Social Thought and Practice," in *The Chinese Mind*, ed. Charles Moore (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1967) 332-333.
- ²⁷ *Mencius*, 6A: 10; Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 2: 411-412.
- ²⁸ The text I have consulted is Lai Yen-yüan's 賴炎元 *Han Shih Wai Chuan: A Modern Annotation and Translation* 韓詩外傳今註今譯 (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1972) 9. The translation is Hightower's, p. 18. Both Lai and Hightower have alerted us to the fact that there seems to be no ground to believe that Liu-hsia Hui 柳下惠 had killed himself for the code of "trustworthiness" (*hsin* 信), and that in the *Shuo yüan* 說苑 version by Liu Hsiang 劉向 Wei-sheng 尾生 is substituted for Liu-hsia Hui. See note 2 in Lai and Hightower respectively.
- ²⁹ *Lun yü*, XV: 8; Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, I: 297.
- ³⁰ "Suicide and the Family in Pre-Modern Chinese Society," in *Normal and Abnormal Behavior in Chinese Culture*, ed. A. Kleinman and T. Y. Lin (Boston: D. Reidel Publishing Co., 1980) 29. Readers interested in a more specific treatment of self-killing by Chinese women can consult Margery Wolf, "Women and Suicide in China," in *Women in China*, ed. Margery Wolf and Roxanne Witke (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1975) 111-141.
- ³¹ I am grateful to my colleague Professor Tsai-fa Cheng for assistance in translating this entry. The text I have used for translation is based on the *Illustrated Biographies of Women*, I, 繡圖列女傳 edited by Wang Keng 汪庚 (Taipei: Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1971) 416. The illustrations are provided by Ch'ou Ying 仇英. A complete English translation of Liu Hsiang's *Biographies of Women* is included in Albert O'Hara's *The Position of Women in Early China* (Taipei: Mei Ya Publications, 1971). However, because my reading of the biography of Lady Chao of Tai is substantially different from O'Hara's, I have decided to use my own translation. For further information on Liu Hsiang's work, the reader can consult Marina H. Sung's "The Chinese Lieh-nü Tradition," in *Women in China: Directions in Historical Scholarship*, ed. Richard W. Guisso and Stanley Johannesen (Youngstown: Philo Press, 1981). Ch'en Tung-yüan's 陳東原 *History of the Lives of Chinese Women* 中國婦女生活史 (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1970) is still a useful work in this field.
- ³² *Mencius*, 4A: 10; Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 2:302.
- ³³ The key phrase is "refused to eat the grain of Chou in compliance with the dictates of yi" 義不食周粟 (*The Historical Records*, 61: 2123).
- ³⁴ "The status of the Individual in Chinese Ethics," in *The Chinese Mind* 318.
- ³⁵ *The Standard History of Sung* 宋史 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1977), 451: 13276.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, 481: 12539-40.
- ³⁷ *The Journal of Asian Studies* 43.4 (1984): 647.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, 652-653.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, 647.

- 40 Lynn A. Struve, "Ambivalence and Action: Some Frustrated Scholars of the K'ang Hsi Period," in *From Ming to Ch'ing: Conquest, Region, and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century China*, ed. Jonathan D. Spence and John E. Wills, Jr. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1979) 326.
- 41 "The Manchu-Chinese Relationship, 1618-1636," in *From Ming to Ch'ing*, p. 6. For an account of Emperor K'ang-hsi's efforts to mollify the Han Chinese's anti-Manchu sentiments by taking a special trip to Ch'ü-fu 曲阜 to honor the descendents of Confucius, see Richard E. Strassberg's *The World of K'ung Shang-jen: A Man of Letters in Early Ch'ing China* (New York: Columbia UP, 1983) 75-116.
- 42 Struve 328.
- 43 Wakeman 652.
- 44 "Letter to Jen An" 報任安書, in *Selected Essays of Various Periods* 中國歷代文選, selected and annotated by Fung Ch'i-yung 馮其庸 et al., (Hong Kong: Nan-kuo ch'u-pan-she, n. d.) 254. The translation is Watson's, in *Anthology of Chinese Literature* 99.
- 45 Ibid. 258; 100.
- 46 Ibid. 254; 99.
- 47 Ibid. 258; 101.
- 48 A complete English translation of this play was done by Pi-twan H. Wang, in *Renditions: A Chinese-English Translation Magazine* 9 (1978): 103-131.
- 49 Mencius, 4B: 23; Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 2: 328.
- 50 *The World of Thought in Ancient China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1985) 80.
- 51 Hsieh and Spence 30.
- 52 Schwartz 71.
- 53 I am not sure if my view on this matter would be shared by Hu Kuei 胡軌, who stated in the postscript to the edition of *The Illustrated Biographies of Women* cited in note 30 that these women "are the shining lights of Chinese womanhood that have illumined the annals of history and penetrated the conscience of mankind." Similarly, Albert O'Hara, who is a Jesuit, endorsed the conduct of these women by observing that: "The author [O'Hara] hopes that this edition [his own book] will make Chinese culture better known and understood to the English reading public and may present modern Chinese women with many ideals which even in a modern changing world they may do well to imitate" (p. vi).
- 54 *The Courage To Be* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1952), 12.

The Queen Mother of the West: Historical or Legendary? (Part II)

C. Y. Hsü

(徐兆鏞)

Lun Hêng 論衡 by Wang Ch'ung 王充 (A.D. 27- ca. 100) of the Eastern Han dynasty says that in subjugating the barbarian tribes beyond China's borders Han took possession of the "stone house of Hsi Wang Mu" 西王母石室 and established there the Hsi Hai Prefecture 西海郡. By the "stone house" it means probably a fortification or stronghold built of stone. "The State of Hsi Wang Mu 西王母國," it adds, "lies outside the farthest limits of the world, yet Han annexed it." Referring to the Hsi Hai Prefecture, the *History of the Sui Dynasty* 隋書 says that "it included the city of Fu Ssü Ch'eng 伏侯城 and embraced the Kingdom of T'u-yü-hun 吐谷暉." Where Fu Ssü Ch'eng was is hard to ascertain but researches have verified that T'u-yü-hun was the land of the Turfans in Tibet. There were found the stone grotto of the Queen Mother of the West and the salt lake Kokonor 青海. These places give us some idea of the location of Hsi Wang Mu (Queen Mother of the West).

As early as in the Warring States period the Taoists deified the Queen Mother of the West. *Chuang-tzu* said,

"When the Queen Mother of the West acquired Tao, she settled on Shao Kwang 少廣 (a mountain in the West). No one knows since when nor until when."

Huai-nan-tzu 淮南子 by Liu Hsiang 劉向 (77-6 B.C.), Prince of Huai-nan, of the Western Han dynasty, says: "Archer I 羿 obtained an elixir from the Queen Mother of the West but Ch'ang O 嫦娥 (his wife) stole (and took) it and fled to the Moon (to become Goddess of the Moon)." Since the Queen Mother of the West possessed an elixir and presumably knew the secret of its manufacture which was the fervent desire of all Taoists aspiring for immortality, she herself in Taoist thinking must have acquired immortality.

Toward the end of the Western Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 7) when China was in political and social turmoil the Queen Mother of the West was widely worshipped as a goddess. The drought and earthquake in the spring of the fourth year (3 B.C.) of Emperor Ai's reign 漢哀帝 enhanced the belief of supernatural power. Some people east of the Han-ku Pass 函谷關 (in Honan Province) claimed to have found a charm of the Queen Mother of the West in

the form of rice stalks or hemp stalks which were passed along and carried to the Imperial capital Hsien-yang 咸陽 (near present-day Sian 西安). On the way altars were set up and rites, including singing and dancing, were held to worship her. A handbill was circulated, saying: "The Queen Mother makes it known to the people that whoever wears the handbill on his or her lapel won't die but whoever does not believe this will find white hairs under the threshold of his or her door."

According to *Wu-Yüeh Ch'un-Ch'iu* 吳越春秋 (*Spring and Autumn Annals of Wu and Yüeh*) by Chao Yeh 趙曄 (fl. ca. A.D. 40) of the Eastern Han dynasty, bent on revenge for the conquest of his state by King Fu Ch'ai 吳王夫差 (died 473 B.C.) of Wu and the humiliation of making him a slave in his palace, King Kou Chiên 越王勾踐 (496-465 B.C.) of Yüeh, built a shrine in the western suburbs of his capital for the Queen Mother of the West, "worshipping her as the ultimate *yin* (female) force" and praying for her blessing and spiritual assistance in conquering Wu.

Let us see how the Taoists portrayed the Queen Mother of the West as a goddess. *Han-wu-ti nei-ch'uan* 漢武帝內傳 (*The Inner Biography of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty*), an apocryphal book, carries an account of an alleged meeting between Emperor Wu (Liu Ch'ê 劉徹 156 B.C.-A.D. 87) and the Queen Mother of the West. The powerful and autocratic sovereign aspired for immortality. He had sent emissaries to the Western Region 西域 to look for an elixir and ordered Hsü Fu 徐福 with three thousand boys and girls respectively to sail out on the East Sea to look for the rumored Three Fairy Isles and had expressed his desire to

meet with gods and goddesses. The account says:

"On the 7th day of the 7th moon the inner apartments of the palace were cleaned up. A throne seat was placed on a dais in the hall. The ground was covered with a purple carpet. Fragrant incense was burned. A canopy of the cloud design was hanged up. A lantern with nine lights was lit. Dates from Yü-men 玉門 and grape wine were set on the table. The Emperor personally supervised the preparation of a feast befitting Heavenly visitors. He then wore his gorgeous Imperial dress and stood below the stairs leading to the hall. He forbade anyone peeping into the south gate of the palace and ordered complete quiet inside and outside the palace to wait for the arrival of the cloud chariots.

After the second night watch (11 p.m.), white clouds suddenly appeared in the southwestern sky and came from far off toward the palace, accompanied by the sounds of fifes and drums and the noise of beings and horses. After a while, the Queen Mother of the West arrived with her retinue, descending upon the court like a flock of birds. Some of the Heavenly visitors rode dragons, tigers, lions, white tigers, white deer or white cranes while others came in chariots. They numbered tens of thousands. Their luminosity illuminated the court and palace. Seen now were the Queen Mother of the West in a purple cloud chariot drawn by a nine-colored dragon and fifty Heavenly maidens around her chariot, all 10-ft. tall, holding colored feather staffs, diamond seals and bamboo slips. They alighted in the court. The Queen Mother of the West, escorted by two maidens, ascended the hall. The maidens, about 16 or 17,

dressed in blouses of green damask, looked very beautiful with bright flashing eyes and fresh blooming countenances. The Queen Mother of the West walked to the east side of the hall. She looked noble, radiant and self-possessed, wearing a robe of yellow silk, a cordon, a double-bladed sword at her waist, a flower knot on her hair, a crown with strings of pearls dangling, and shoes of black jade and of a phoenix pattern. She was a little over 30 and of a medium stature. Her beauty eclipsed all others' and was really unexcelled. She was a veritable goddess.

After she had taken the throne seat, the Emperor knelt before her and expressed his greetings. When he rose, she asked him to take a seat on the south side facing her.

She ordered that a feast she had prepared and brought over with her be now laid out. It consisted of sumptuous and delicious food, fresh fruits, lush purple fungus, and aromatic mellow wine, all unobtainable on Earth. These delicious viands were so rare that the Emperor could not name them. The Queen Mother of the West also ordered her maidens to fetch the fairy peaches. Soon seven green peaches as big as ducks were brought in to her. She gave four of them to the Emperor to eat while she herself munched three. They were of a delicious flavor which lingered in the mouth after eating. After eating them, the Emperor kept the kernels. She asked him why he did so. In reply he said he would like to grow them. She said that it took once every three thousand years for the peach tree to bear fruit and that the soil in China was not fertile enough for the tree to grow. At hearing this he abandoned his plan to grow it.

After several drinks, the Queen Mother of the West ordered the maiden Wang Tzû-têng 王子登 to play on the eight-gemmed Ao 璈 stringed instrument, the maiden Tung Shuang-ch'eng 董雙成 on the reed organ, the maiden Shih Kung-tzû 石公子 on the bell, the maiden Hsü Fei-chiung 許飛瓊 on the thundering organ, the maiden Yüan Ling-hua 阮靈華 and Fan Ch'eng-chün 范成君 on the chime stones and the maiden Tuan An-hsiang 段安香 on Nine-Heaven Music. The ethereal melodies from the different instruments reverberated in the air. She then ordered the maiden An Fa-ying 安法嬰 to sing the Song of Profound Spirituality 玄靈之曲.

In response to the Emperor's urgent beseeching for the secret of attaining the Tao (Way) the Queen Mother of the West ordered an attendant maiden Kuo Mi-hsiang 郭密香 to invite her companion Lady Shang Yüan 上元夫人 to come and assist her in disclosing the secret. After about two hours amidst the sound of fifes and drums in the air Lady Shang Yüan arrived with about a thousand maidens, all dressed in green and 18 or 19-year-old beauties. The Lady herself, more than 20 years old, looked radiantly beautiful with sparkling eyes. She wore a red frost-like frock of a rare material of a dazzling cloud pattern, which was neither brocade nor embroidered silk, a three-cornered knot with the rest of her hair draping down to her waist, a coronet of sparkling gems of nine supernatural powers, a pendant of flaming jade issuing six strands of light, a cordon of a phoenix design inlaid with topaze blossoms and a sharp sword with a jade-inlaid handle.

Lady Shang Yüan acknowledged the Emperor's fervent desire to seek the Tao. But she pointed out that as the

Son of Heaven, he was doubly obsessed by the passion for glory, wealth and sensual desires. She advised him to shut out sensuality, cultivate spiritual power, forsake extravagance and embrace frugality, practice ablution and abstain from meat. She said that if he could cultivate himself for the Tao in a hundred years, the Queen Mother of the West would guide him to the Heavenly Capital and place him in the rank of fairy officers.

In the chapter "Fairies through the Ages" 列代女仙 in the book *History of Immortals through the Ages* 歷代仙史 by Wang Chien-chang 王建章 published in the 7th year of the Kuang-hsü reign of Emperor Te Tsung of the Ch'ing dynasty 清德宗光緒七年 or 1881-82 the Queen Mother of the West is ranked second to Chiu T'ien Yüan Nü 九天元女 (Primordial Lady of Nine Heavens) who is said to have been the mentor of the Yellow Emperor 黃帝 (reg. 2698-2597 B.C.), instructing him in the Liu Chia military strategy 六甲兵符 so that he could command the spirits and gods and vanquish the barbarians Ch'ih Yu 蚩尤. It says of her: "The Golden Mother, also known as the Queen Mother of the West and as the Golden Mother of the Tortoise Terrace 龜臺金母 was born in Shen-chow 神州 (China). Her surname is Hou 緱, her personal name Hui 回 and her style Wan-ling 婉玲. She has her headquarters in the West. She nurtures all creatures and things. All females who have attained the Tao are under her jurisdiction. She dwells in a garden on Mount K'un-lun 崑崙之圃 and the pleasure at Lang-feng 閼風 where there are golden cities, jade towers, jasper gateways, bright and azure halls, Jasper Pond on the left and a green stream on the right. At the foot of the mount flow weak waters and towering

waves. There it is inaccessible unless by a whirlwind chariot with winged wheels. King Mu of Chou went on a westward journey on a chariot drawn by eight winged steeds and personally called on her. He feasted her on Jasper Pond. Later on in the first year of the Yüan-feng reign of Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty 漢武帝元封元年 or 110 B.C. she came and alighted in the Imperial hall where she presented to His Majesty seven fairy peaches and ordered her maidens to play music for his entertainment. Afterwards she left by clouds as she came."

The chapter has also an account about Lady Shang Yüan: "Lady Shang Yüan is a disciple of the Taoist Lord 道君. Her Taoist standing is just below the Tortoise Terrace. Wherever the Golden Mother goes, she orders her attendant maid to inform her and invite her to accompany her. Lady Shang Yüan once said to Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty, 'You are by nature sensual, extravagant and despotic and you live in glory and luxury. Though you have repeatedly summoned the *fang-shih* 方士 (men of the occult art) to seek immortality, your efforts are in vain."

The great T'ang poet Li Po 李白 (A.D. 701-762) wrote the following poem on Lady Shang Yüan:

Lady Shang Yüan

Ah, Lady Shang Yüan! Who is she?
She won the favor of Wang Mu,
Wearing a knot with corners three.
Her stray hair fell to waist askew,
A fur-lined cape of green brocade,
And a red frost-like frock to boot.
Leading by hand Princess Fond Jade,¹¹
She blew with her the phoenix flute.
Flashing a smile with luring eyes,
They flew away with the wind's rise.

上元夫人

上元誰夫人？ 偏得王母嬌。
 蟠峨三角髻， 餘髮散垂腰。
 裘披青毛錦， 身著赤霜袍。
 手提羸女兒， 閒與鳳吹簫。
 眉語兩自笑， 忽然隨風飄。

Li Po also wrote the following *tz'u* 詞 of two verses on the maiden Tung Shuang-ch'eng:

Autumn in the Cassia Hall

The fairies spiralled down.
 Midst them was Tung Shuang-ch'eng.
 In the night cold in the Han hall they
 blew the jade-reed *sheng*.
 At the tune's end with fairy officers
 they then left town,
 Leaving all houses bathed in bright
 moonlight.
 The Maiden of the Milky Way
 With her face like jade
 Drives her cloud cart to Earth this
 or that day.
 She's gone without a trace in her
 heavenly escapade,
 Leaving but whiffs of fragrance in the
 air from her gems bright.

桂殿秋

仙女下，董雙成。漢殿夜涼吹玉笙。
 曲終却從仙官去。萬戶千門惟月明。
 河漢女，玉鍊顏。雲轡往往在人間。
 九霄有路去無踪，嫋嫋香風生佩環。

From the accounts above we can see that the greatest sources of first-hand information about King Mu's meeting with the Queen Mother of the West are the *Bamboo Annals* and the *Biography of the Son of Heaven Mu* unearthed together by a tomb robber at Chi-hsien, Honan Province in A.D. 281. The question arises: Are these two books authentic? Of the authenticity of the *Bamboo Annals* there has been little controversy. Scholars give credence

to the archaic characters used, ancient style of writing and historical facts and personalities mentioned.

As to King Mu's *Biography* in bamboo strips when unearthed, from the early fourth century when Kuo P'u's annotations to it to the mid-18th century, for one thousand four or five hundred years no other scholar had made a serious study of the unusual book discovered in rather unusual circumstances. But since the mid-18th century, there has been an upsurge of interest in the book. There have been many studies of it by Chinese, Japanese and Western scholars.

Controversy has raged over its authenticity. Chinese scholars have been and are particularly concerned about this question. Among those who thought the book authentic are Hu Ying-lin 胡應麟 (1551-1618), Hung I-hsüan 洪頤煊 (1765-?), Ting Ch'ien 丁謙 (1843-1919), Liu Shih-pei 劉師培 (1884-1919), Ogawa Takuji 小川琢治 (1870-1941), Ku Shih 顧實 (1876-?), Yü Hsing-wu 于省吾 (1899-1983), Wei T'ing-sheng 衛挺生 (1890-?) and Ts'en Chung-mien 岑仲勉 (1885-1961). Among those who thought the book spurious are Jao Chi-heng 姚際恆 (1647-ca.1715), Wang Kuo-wei 王國維 (1877-1927), Wei Chü-hsien 衛聚賢 (1898-?) and Ku Chieh-kang 顧頡剛 (1893-1980).

Hu Ying-lin says in *Ssü-pu cheng-ê* 四部正譌: "The *Biography of the Son of Heaven Mu*, 6 *chüan* is in an antique style, like that of the Three Ages (Hsia, Shang and Chou), for it was recorded by King Mu's Court historian. Though it was found in a tomb at Chi-hsien together with the *Bamboo Annals* and *I Chou Shu* (*Stray Book of Chou*) the *Biography* was written before the removal of the Chou capital eastward and thus contains many archaic characters and

lacunae whereas the two other books record events to the end of the Chou dynasty with the insertion of accounts of the Warring States period. Recently some people have thought the *Biography* spurious. This is ridiculous.

"*Lieh-tzŭ* says that King Mu rode a chariot drawn by eight winged steeds with Tsao Fu as driver and traveled for a thousand *li* to the Kingdom of Chu Shou Shih and ascended Mount K'un-lun to view the Yellow Emperor's Palace, called on the Queen Mother of the West and drank with her on Jasper Pond. The Queen Mother sang songs and he sang one too. This story in *Lieh-tzŭ* must have been lifted from the *Biography*. The *Biography* and *Lieh-tzŭ* are in different styles, though both sound antique. There are, however, archaic characters in the *Biography*, but not in *Lieh-tzu*. This is evidence that *Lieh-tzŭ* quoted the other way round." 穆天子傳六卷，其文典而淳古，宛然三代範型，蓋穆王史官所記。雖與竹書紀年、逸周書並出汲冢，第二書所載，皆訖周末，蓋不無戰國語參之。獨此書在東漢前，故奇字特多，缺文特甚。近或以爲僞書，殆可笑也。列子稱：穆王駕八駿之乘……造父爲御……馳驅千里，至于巨蒐氏之國……升昆侖之丘以觀黃帝之宮，遂賓于西王母，觴于瑤池之上。西王母爲謠，王和之。列子此段全錄穆天子傳，非穆引列子也。

Jao Chi-heng in his *Ku-ching wei-shu k'ao* 古今僞書考 (*A Study of Spurious Works, Ancient and Modern*) expresses the belief that the *Bamboo Annals*, *I Chou Shu* (*Stray Book of Chou*) and the *Biography of the Son of Heaven Mu* unearthed together in a Chi tomb are spurious. Referring to the *Biography*, he says: "The *Biography of the Son of Heaven Mu* is based upon Tso Ch'uan's statement: 'King Mu

wanted to carry out his wish to travel around the world so that the ruts of his chariot and the hoof marks of his steeds would be over all places.'" 穆王欲肆其心，周行天下，將皆有車轍馬跡焉(左傳) He adds that it is also based upon a statement in the "Account of Ch'in" in the *Historical Records*: "Tsao Fu obtained for King Mu the steeds Chi, Wen Li, Hua Liu and Lu Erh and the King journeyed to the west where he was so happy that he forgot to come home." 造父爲穆王得驥、溫驪、驂驪、騶耳之駒，西巡狩，樂而忘歸(史記秦本記) He further opines: "The *Biography* lifts many expressions from the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*. It is written in the form of a chronological account of the King's life, which began with Empress Ma of Ming Te of the Eastern Han dynasty. We therefore suspect that the *Biography* must have been written by someone of Han. Since there are many similarities between the *Biography* and the *Bamboo Annals*, they must have been authored by the same person." 多用山海經語，其體制亦似起居注。起居注者，始於明德馬皇后，故知其爲漢人作。又多與紀年相合，亦知爲一人之作也。

Allaying such doubts about the authenticity of the *Biography*, Ku Shih says: "If it were by someone of Han, why, according to the 'Account of the Western Region' in the *History of the Han Dynasty*, did studies of Emperor Wu's times, basing upon ancient books and maps, mistake the Yang River and the Black River for the source of the Yellow River? This indicates that the Western Han people could not have counterfeited evidence. Pan Ku's 班固 (died A.D. 92) *Feng Yen-yen Shan Ming* claims to be based upon a study of commentaries and an examination

of maps and yet it mistakes the present-day Hang-ai Mountain to be Yen-yen Mountain — which is at variance with the *Biography*. This indicates that the Eastern Han people could not have counter-feited evidence. In the recurrent dissensions in the Western and Eastern Chin dynasties when archives were destroyed and lost, no ancient books and maps could be based upon and the scholars then were in no position to make any comment upon the authenticity of the *Biography*. The characters of the *Biography* are extremely antique. Even the Chou people could not have written them, far less could the Han or Chin people have counter-feited them. 不啻假出漢人之手，何以漢書西域傳云：「武帝案古圖書」而誤指泮水黑水爲河源。豈非開口便錯？此西漢人不能僞造者一也。班固封燕然山銘云：「考傳驗圖」，然指今之杭愛山爲燕然，亦與穆傳不合，此東漢人不能僞造者又一也。下迄兩晉、喪亂頻仍，文獻蕩佚，已無復古圖可案，則更不能道其隻字。況乎穆傳文字之奇古，周季人尙不能望其項背，而謂漢晉人能僞造。（見讀穆傳十論三）

The *Catalogue of ch'in-ting ssü-k'u chuan-shu* of the Ch'ing dynasty 清四庫全書總目 classifies the *Biography* in the *hsiao-shuo* 小說 (small talk or fiction) category, saying that it consists of "baseless talk but little fact" 多夸言寡實 and that it may be treated as a book of antiquity but not as authentic history. For then it would confuse history and random accounts. 以爲古書而存之可也，以爲信史而錄之，則史體雜史例破矣。

The modern scholar Wang Kuo-wei also thought the *Biography* spurious because it confuses the two Chou capitals Chung-chou 宗周 (Feng-k'ao 豐鎬), the old capital where Imperial sacrifices were traditionally made, and Ch'eng-chou 成周 (Lo-i 洛邑), the new capital built

by King Ch'eng 成王 (reg. 1104-1068 B.C.); it calls Lo-i Chung-chou. But Wei T'ing-sheng claims that his research indicates that King Mu in later years removed his sacrificial rites from Feng-k'ao to Lo-i and could have called the latter Chung-chou.

The contemporary antiquarian Wei Chü-hsien in his *Study of the Biography of the Son of Heaven Mu* also has serious doubt about its authenticity. He quotes his mentor Wang Kuo-wei's "Study of the Kuei-fang, K'un-i and Hsien-yün" 鬼方昆夷玁狁考 as saying: "These tribes starting from the valleys of the Yen and Lung Rivers in the west, skirting the China borders to the northwest, and operating between the T'ai-hang Mountains 太行山 and Ch'ang Mountain 常山; sometimes separately and sometimes joining together, made frequent incursions into China, particularly between the reigns of King Li 厲王 and King Hsüan 宣王 from 878 B.C. to 782 B.C. and asserts that the Hsien-yün tribe constantly raided China's northwest from the time of the Emperor Kao Chung 高宗 (personal name Wu Ting 武丁) of the Yin dynasty to the time of King Li and King Hsüan from 1339 B.C. to 782 B.C. King Mu had to pass through enemy territory. But the enemy tribes are said to 'have made offerings' to him. This doesn't sound possible. If King Mu could not have traveled to the northwest, when his *Biography* was written need to be studied."

Refuting Wei Chü-hsien's allegation, Wei T'ing-sheng says that the tribes were scattered in groups in the mountains and were not organized as a nation with a big army, that their plunders were carried out by scores, or hundreds, or at most more than a thousand men and that there had been no large-scale



war between the tribesmen and the Chinese. King Mu led an army of six detachments. It was not likely that the scattered tribal groups would block his passage but find it expedient to greet him with offerings.王靜安師鬼方昆夷獫狁考云：『西自汧隴，環中國而東北及太行常山間，中間或分或合，時入侵暴中國，以厲宣之間爲最甚。獫狁民族自殷高宗至周厲宣時，不斷騷擾中國西北，而穆王適於其中穿過敵方。敵方之人，到處「乃獻……」，當無是理。是穆王時，穆王不能到西北。則穆天子傳爲何時作品，不得不加以研究。』（衛聚賢穆天子傳研究）

擬案：自殷高宗武丁之世（公元前一二四四年以後）至周宣王之世（公元前七八二年前）五百餘年中，華人與胡人間並非日日在有組織之大規模的大戰中。而且據史記匈奴列傳，胡人僅各在山谷間聚族而居，並無國家組織，更無大軍組織。其每次之侵略行爲，不過爲土匪式的數十人數百人或至多千餘人之搶劫擄掠而已……穆王以六師之人隨行，山谷聚居之戎狄，誰敢抗命！其中部落之求好者，於王過境時而有獻或舉觴以示歡迎，固亦人情之所應有。（衛挺生穆天子傳今考第一冊外篇）

Wei Chü-hsien also advanced the argument in support of his contention of the spuriousness of the *Biography* that it uses the posthumous title of King Mu, indicating that it was written not by his Court historian but by someone after his demise. Wei T'ing-sheng points out that he seems to have overlooked his mentor Wang Kuo-wei's *Yü-tui-po*¹² 遼敦跋 (Colophon on the Yü Bronze Vessel) that posthumous titles were not used in the early Chou dynasty by King Wen, King Wu, King Ch'eng, King Kang, King Chao and King Mu 文、武、成、康、昭、穆 which are their respective Imperial styles 號, not posthumous titles 諡.

The Japanese historian, Dr. Ogawa

Takuji 小川琢治 in his "Study of the *Biography of the Son of Heaven Mu*, "on the contrary, declares, that the *Biography's* value as historical material is higher than even the *Book of History* and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. He says: "This book escaped the polishing by Confucian scholars after the Ch'in and Han dynasties and has preserved its original form to this date. As basic historical material, it is therefore higher in value than the *Book of History* and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*." 此書未被秦漢以後儒家之潤色，尙能保存其真面目於今日，比尙書春秋根本史料之價值爲尤高。（錄自衛挺生穆天子傳今考第一冊外篇第一五六頁。）

After weighing the pros and cons of the authenticity of the *Biography*, I feel that the pros are on more solid ground. Those scholars in support of its authenticity were able to point to the antiquity of its characters and style and the incompetence of scholars of the Han and later periods to fake them. They further argued that *Lieh-tzŭ* appears to have copied from the *Biography* the story of King Mu's visit to the Queen Mother of the West, that the *Biography* uses "Mu" as the King's Imperial style in conformity with usage of the early Chou period, not as posthumous title, indicating that it could have been compiled by his Court historian or a contemporary and that it names many places that are also mentioned in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*, a book believed to have been compiled in the Warring States period. Since neither book mentions the other, it indicates that both derived from the same tradition but independently. I may add that since the *Biography* was unearthed simultaneously with the *Bamboo Annals* and *I Chou Shu* (*Stray Book of Chou*)

from the same tomb in Chi-hsien, it could have been compiled about the same time as the two other books, and since the *Bamboo Annals* and *I Chou Shu* are found to contain historical facts and personalities known to be authentic, any suspicion that the compiler of the *Biography* wrote fiction, not history at that early age when fiction had not come into vogue, may be superfluous.

The difficulty in determining the authenticity of the *Biography* lies in the non-identification of most of the places, persons and tribes mentioned in it, which throw a pall of mystery and incredulity over it. Researches to identify them successfully should dissipate this mystery and enhance credulity.

In spite of all these accounts about her, was there a Queen Mother of the West? Was she a real person, or out of man's imagination? If she was real, who was she after all? This tantalizing question of her historicity has engaged the study of Chinese scholars for many years and even some Japanese and Western scholars since the turn of the century. Much interest in this question was aroused abroad by the publication in 1888-89 of an English translation "Muh-T'ien-Tsze Chuen or Narrative of the Son of Heaven Posthumously Called Muh" by Dr. E.J. Eitel in *The China Review*, No. 4, Vol. XVII. Hong Kong: China Mail Office; Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh.

In 1895-1905 the French sinologue Edouard Chavannes translated Ssü-ma Ch'ien's *Historical Records*. In a footnote in Vol. 1 he dwells upon King Mu's journey to the tribal country of Hsi Wang Mu and again in Vol. 5, quoting from the *Biography of the Son of Heaven*

Mu, Erh Ya, the *Bamboo Annals*, annotations to the *Biography of the Son of Heaven Mu* and *Shao-shih shan-fang lei-k'ao* by Hu Ying-lin. 胡應麟少室山房類稿

The most sensational speculation was made by Von A. Forke, German sinologue, in his article on "Mu Wang und die Königin von Saba" in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, Vol. VII, 1904, pp. 117-172 that the Queen Mother of the West was the Queen of Sheba of Biblical fame. The Bible records her visit to King Solomon in Jerusalem:

And she came to Jerusalem with a very great train, with camels that bore spices, and very much gold, and precious stones: and when she was come to Solomon, she communed with him of all that was in her heart.

And Solomon told her all her questions: there was not anything hid from the king, which he told her not.

And when the Queen of Sheba had seen all Solomon's wisdom and the house that he had built.

And the meat of his table, and the sitting of his servants and the attendance of his ministers, and their apparel, and his cup-bearers, and his ascent by which he went up unto the house of the Lord; there was no spirit in her.

And she said to the king, It was a true report that I heard in mine own land of thy acts and of thy wisdom. . . .

Sheba, also called Saba, was the Biblical name of a region of South Arabia, which included Yemen and the Hadramaut, and its inhabitants were called Sabaeans or Sabeans. Sheba, situated along the trade route between India and Africa, was known as a country of great wealth as evidenced by the

bounteous valuable gifts presented by the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon.

The Queen of Sheba must be a contemporary of King Solomon (d.c. 932), son and successor of David, whose accession probably took place around 970 B.C. when he was still quite young. King Mu and King Solomon could be contemporaries and so could the Queen Mother of the West and the Queen of Sheba. But could the two queens be the same person?

In the same year as Forke's article was published Ed. Huber refuted his identification of the Queen Mother of the West with the Queen of Sheba in an article in *Bulletin de L'Ecole Francaise*, IV, 1904, pp. 1127-1131. But in 1906 in a second article "Si Wang Mu," which was also published in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, IX, 1906, pp. 409-417, Forke insisted upon his view.

In 1914 H. A. Giles, the British sinologue, subscribed to Forke's view of identifying the Queen Mother of the West with the Queen of Sheba in an article entitled "Who Was Si Wang Mu?" in *Adversaria Sinica*. He had earlier identified the Queen Mother of the West as the Greek Hera in his *A Chinese-English Dictionary* first published in Shanghai in 1892.

From 1920 to 1922 Leopold de Saussure, French sinologue, published four articles on his study of the *Biography of the Son of Heaven Mu*: "1. *Le Voyage du Roi Mou* (Mu Wang) *et L'Hypothèse de Edouard Chavannes*" in French, *T'oung Pao*, 1920-1922, pp. 19-31 in which he recognizes King Mu as a great traveler of ancient times but refutes Chavannes's hypothesis that King Mu of Chou was actually Duke Mu of Ch'in 秦穆公 (659-621 B.C.); 2. "*Le Voyage*

du Roi Mu au Turkestan Oriental" in French, *Journal Asiatique*, 1920, pp. 151-156; 3. "*Le Relation des Voyages du Roi Mou*" in French, *Journal Asiatique*, 1921, pp. 217-280; and 4. "*The Calendar of Mu T'ien Tsz Chuen*" in English, *The New China Review*, Vol. II, No. 6, pp. 513-516, 1920.

De Saussure thought that the *Biography of the Son of Heaven Mu* "is not at all 'fabulous', but really extracted from the diary of an historiographer of King Muh." He said the *Biography*, "written on pieces of wood, was discovered in the third century, at the same time as the *Bamboo Annals* and other documents, in the tomb of a prince which had been opened by thieves. These men burned some of the tablets in order to light the sepulchral room and left the rest in great disorder. It has therefore been necessary to reconstitute the document from these mix-up remnants.

"The collected text mentions three returns of King Muh to his capital of Nan-tch'eng; but the beginning of each of these three journeys is missing. This blank is much to be deplored; it deprives us of the indication of the reign-year, which must have been shown and which would fix the date."¹³ He believed that in reconstructing the text from the bamboo strips (not pieces of wood as he alleges) great errors have been introduced in the calendar. This may be true and make it difficult to date King Mu's journeys.

De Saussure thought that the country of Hsi Wang Mu was Gans Ti-se or Kaitasa near Lake Manasarover in Southeast Tibet.

The speculation that the Queen Mother of the West was the Queen of Sheba is far-fetched because King Mu

could not have traveled such a great distance within the time mentioned, given the primitive means of transport and the hardships of travel at his time. Wei T'ing-sheng in his *A Modern Scientific Study of King Mu's Travels* comments: "The *Biography* says, 'From the Mountain of Clusters of Jade to the State of Hsi Wang Mu is 3,000 *li*.' Now the Queendom of Sheba was at present-day Yemen on the Red Sea southwest of the Arabian Peninsula. From Mountain of Clusters of Jade which is present-day Jade Mountain near Yarkand to Yemen is a distance between 13,000 and 14,000 *li*, not 3,000 *li*. Horses cannot cover that distance within 27 days at the average of over 100 *li* a day."¹⁴

Two other Chinese scholars Ting Ch'ien who wrote "*Mu T'ien-Tzu ch'uan k'ao-cheng*" 穆天子傳考證 and Liu Shih-pei who wrote "*Mu T'ien-Tzu ch'uan pu-shih*" 穆天子傳補釋 both thought that the State of Hsi Wang Mu was in Assyria whose capital was Nineveh. But in Mr. Wei's opinion this was also too far for King Mu to travel within the 27 days for from Mountain of Clusters of Jade to Nineveh, it was not 3,000 *li* but 7,000 to 8,000 *li*.¹⁵

Prof. Ku Shih who wrote "*Mu T'ien-Tzu ch'uan hsi-cheng Chiang-su*" 穆天子傳西征講疏 advanced the theory that the State of Hsi Wang Mu was around Teheran, present capital of Iran. But Mr. Wei pointed out that neither Persia (Iran) nor Media 米塔 was established as kingdom at the time of King Mu but around 750 B.C., that is, about some three centuries later.¹⁶

By his research Mr. Wei asserted that the Iranians (Persians) founded the Kingdom of Bactria, also called Tokhara and by the Chinese Ta Hsia 大夏 as early as 1,100 or 1,000 B.C.

In his opinion this was probably the kingdom that King Mu visited and that he called it Hsi Wang Mu. Its capital was Bactra, the modern Balkh on the northern slope of the Hindu Kush. He disagreed that Hsi Wang Mu could ever be in Media or Persia for Media was founded three centuries and Persia five centuries after King Mu. Bactria was conquered by Alexander the Great in 328 B.C. after two years of stiff resistance by the Bactrians. Mr. Wei, however, did not dig up any evidence that there was a ruling queen in Bactria at the time of King Mu.

In an article entitled "The Origin and Development of the Legend of the Queen Mother of the West" 西王母傳說的起源及其演變 in *Ch'ing-hai Shih-fan Hsüeh-yüan Hsüeh-pao* 青海師範學院學報 (*Journal of the Normal College of Ch'ing-hai*), No. 1, 1984 K'ung En-yang 孔恩陽 thought that the legend of the Queen Mother of the West originated on the Ch'ing-hai Plateau in China. In 1973 at Ma-chia-yao, Shang Sun-chia-chai, Ta-tung-hsien in Ch'ing-hai Province 青海省大通縣上孫家寨馬家窑 was unearthed in a tomb a painted pottery ware on which were drawn dancers, each wearing an animal tail, much like the Queen Mother of the West wearing a leopard tail as recorded in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*. In 1982 in No. 48 tomb of the Ch'ia-yo Culture under the Ta-hua Team of the Ta-hua Commune in Huang-yüan-hsien, Ch'ing-hai Province 青海省湟源縣大華公社大華大隊卡約文化墓葬遺址第四十八號墓 were unearthed by the Ch'ing-hai Archaeological Team animal tails which were probably the possession of the person buried there. These archaeological finds evidence the ancient custom of wearing tails of animals and the existence

of the grotto of the Queen Mother of the West 西王母石室 beyond the Lin-chiang 臨羌 on the salt Hsien Hai 仙海 (青海湖 Kokonor) as recorded' in the Treatise on Geography in the *History of the Han Dynasty* 漢書地理志 Mr. Kung opined. He quotes the late Ku Chieh-kang 顧頡剛 (1893-1980) as saying: "The Grotto of the Queen Mother of the West is between the Huang River and the Yellow River east of Ch'ing-hai. Its present location should be in the vicinity of Hai-yen-hsien 海晏縣 and Fei-teh Banner 輝特旗." The reference to Hsi Wang Mu in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* shows the contact between the civilized Chinese of the Central Plain and a primitive matriarchal society on the Ch'ing-hai Plateau, who looked semi-human and semi-beastly dwelling in caves.

The supposition that the location of the region of the Queen Mother of the West through the archaeological discovery of animal tails as have been worn by the Queen Mother and of the grotto named after her is plausible circumstantial but not conclusive evidence of the protagonist as a historical person and of the authentic location of her country.

A collation of the historical records, books, researches and archaeological finds about the Queen Mother of the West indicates that the name refers simultaneously to the tribal country and its ruler who was presumably a matriarch — a queen. It may not be a name in the original tribal language which the ancient Chinese must have found difficult to understand and speak but one given by the Chinese. The oracle bone found in ruins of the Yin dynasty at Hsiao-tun, An-yang, Honan bears the two characters 王母 in an archaic script which could

mean 西王母. The late Professor Yü Sheng-wu said that 王 was an honorific title. The *Bamboo Annals* says that in the 9th year of the reign of Emperor Shun Hsi Wang Mu (Queen Mother of the West) came to Court and, according to *Sung Shu* 宋書, she presented a white cup and a semi-circular jade ring. *The Book of Rites* by Tsai Te also records that when Emperor Shun succeeded Emperor Yao to the throne, "Hsi Wang Mu came to present a white jade tube." There in both places Hsi Wang Mu seems to refer to the country. It doesn't mean that the Queen Mother herself came but sent an embassy. The *Classic of Mountains and Seas*, however, speaks of Hsi Wang Mu as the matriarch of a tribe. *Hsi-tz'u san-ching* 西次三經 says: "Jade Mountain is the habitat of the Queen Mother of the West. She looks like a human with a leopard's tail, a tiger's teeth and disheveled hair with decorations and snarls readily." It is the earliest description of the appearance of the Queen Mother of the West. As explained earlier, she was masquerading as a fierce uncouth beast for the purpose of war or hunting. Here she was a human, though a savage, of life and blood; she was real, not legendary. The *Biography of the Son of Heaven Mu* says that on his westward journey King Mu arrived in the State of the Queen Mother of the West 西王母之邦 and visited her holding his white and black Imperial tokens and presenting her with 100 bolts of fine silk and 300 bolts of (plain?) silk. During a feast on Jasper Pond she sang songs to entertain him, inviting him to come back to visit her some day, and he sang a song in response. Though the *Biography* doesn't say how she looked, she apparently no longer masqueraded herself as a beast with a

leopard's tail and a tiger's teeth — which would have scared the Emperor off. Here she appeared to be a cultured and sensible human being; she was again real, not legendary.

Was King Mu's visit to the Queen Mother of the West real or fictitious? Judging by the accounts of his strong desire for travel, he must have traveled to many places, far and wide, including the country of the Queen Mother of the West. There he most probably met the head of the matriarchal society whom he called the Queen Mother of the West. The trip, the place and the matriarch in all likelihood were real, not legendary. The matriarch — the Queen Mother of the West — might not have looked as beautiful and lovely as poets and writers of later generations described her but she appeared to have considerable creative and musical talent for she composed and sang two songs extempore to express her poignant feelings on the occasion, to which King Mu, to demonstrate his regal talent, composed and sang one also extempore in return. The exchange of songs enhanced the dignity and elegance of the meeting. Though she lived in a grotto, she as matriarch or royal lady must have made herself presentable when she met King Mu, revered as the Son of Heaven. King Mu in his exalted position as sovereign over myriads of subjects could not have condescended himself to the extent of journeying thousands of miles to visit a beastly-looking creature in his Imperial dress, holding his white jade sceptre and black jade circlet, symbols of his divine authority, nor to feast her on Jasper Pond with fine food and wine and the accompaniment of music. The four hundred bolts of silk, fine and plain,

he presented her were a gift befitting a royal lady whereas he bestowed upon other tribal chieftains gold, pearls, and leather belts inlaid with shells.

Where was the country of the Queen Mother of the West? There are two strong clues: 1. both the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* and the *Biography of the Son of Heaven Mu* say it was in the vicinity of a Jade Mountain where King Mu mined a large quantity of jade ore; 2. it was in the K'un Lun Mountains. Both Jade Mountain and the K'un Lun Mountains are real, not legendary or imaginary.

The two clues limit the area where the country of the Queen Mother of the West could be found, and the limitation belies the speculations of its being in India, Persia, Arabia or Assyria in whose capital Nineveh she was said to be or the identification of the Queen Mother of the West with the Queen of Sheba. Common sense also refutes the possibility that with his means of transport King Mu could have traveled to these far-off countries within the short period of time indicated in the *Biography*. However strong-legged and fast-footed the eight winged steeds and however skillful his driver Tsao Fu might be, the mountains, rivers and ravines, pathless wilderness, stony or rocky wastes, waterless deserts, scorching in the daytime and bitterly cold at night, and the changeful and inclement weather were hindrances enough to block his progress and thwart his wanderlust. If he had traveled to India, Persia, Arabia or Assyria, historians of those countries would have recorded his visit, however briefly, but not a word is found in their scripts.

The K'un Lun Mountains were peopled by the Taoists with immortals,

notably the deified Queen Mother of the West with her entourage of fairy maidens, her three blue birds that brought food to her and acted as her messengers and her garden planted with peach trees that bore every three thousand years big and delicious peaches that had the efficacy of immortality. Let us forget that K'un Lun Range that has been legended and look at the real K'un Lun Range on the map. It rises on the Pamir Plateau and stretches eastward between Sinkiang and Tibet into Ch'ing-hai for about 4,022 miles. Its highest peaks are Muztagh (7,281 meters) and Ulugh Mutagh (7,723 meters). Its western section is the Tarim Basin. It has been known from ancient times for its production of jade. According to the *Biography of the Son of Heaven Mu*, he mined a large quantity of jade ores at Mountain of Clusters of Jade which, according to the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*, is called Jade Mountain where the Queen Mother of the West dwelled. This sounds like a real place, not legendary. But where is it? There is no record of its exact location. All we know is that it must be somewhere in the K'un Lun

Mountains, not India, or Persia (Iran), or Arabia or ancient Assyria. A grotto of the Queen Mother of the West is said to have been found in Ch'ing-hai. Did she actually live there? Any archaeological find of proof? Could it have been so named by the natives who had heard of her and thought she might have lived there? The most plausible evidence of the historicity of the Queen Mother of the West so far obtained is the oracle bone bearing the inscription of the two ancient characters 西母 (West Mother) with the omission of the honorific title 王 (Queen or Royal) as Professor Yü Sheng-wu explained but it is not conclusive.

The mystery of the Queen Mother of the West, though cracked a little by shifting fact from fiction, will remain so until more authentic archaeological evidence, say, the stone tablet bearing the inscription 西王母之山 (Mountain of the Queen Mother of the West) said to have been erected by King Mu on Mountain of Clusters of Jade or Jade Mountain, or a bronze vessel bearing an inscription on the meeting between the King and the Queen Mother is found.

NOTES

¹ The *Bamboo Annals* in 13 chapters relates the history of the Hsia, Shang and Western Chou dynasties, the Spring and Autumn Annals period and the Warring States period. After the fall of King Yu 周幽王 (reg. 781-771 B.C.) of Chou, it enters the chronology of the Chin State 晉國 and after the division up of the Chin State into the Wei, Chao and Han States 魏趙韓 in 376 B.C., the Wei chronology. It ends in the 20th year of the reign of King Ai 魏哀王 of Wei in 229 B.C.

There are two editions of the *Bamboo Annals*, old and new. The bamboo strips unearthed from the Chi tomb were lost and so were the exegeses by Hsun Hsü 荀勗, Ho Chiao 和嶠 and Shu Hsi 束皙 of the Chin dynasty. Chu Yu-tseng 朱右曾 of the Ch'ing dynasty compiled the stray quotations from the *Bamboo Annals* and called the compilation *Chi-chung chi-nien ts'un-ch'en* 汲冢紀年存真 (*True Remnants of the Annals from the Chi Tomb*). With Chu Yu-tseng's compilation as basis the modern scholar Wang Kuo-wei 王國維 (1877-1927) wrote *Ku-pen chu-shu-chi-nien chi-chiao* 古本竹書紀年輯校 (*The Old Edition of the Bamboo Annals, Compiled and Collated*). The contemporary scholar Fan Hsiang-yung 范祥雍 made additions to Wang Kuo-wei's compilation

and entitled his book *Ku-pen chu-shu-chi-nien chi-chiao ting-pu* 古本竹書紀年輯校訂補 (*The Old Edition of the Bamboo Annals, Compiled and Collated with Additions*). This is the *Bamboo Annals*, old edition.

When the *Bamboo Annals*, new edition, was compiled is hard to ascertain. Lei Hsueh-ch'i 雷學洪 of the Ch'ing dynasty said that he had seen a copy of this edition published toward the end of the Yüan dynasty and the beginning of the Ming dynasty, i.e. ca. 1333-1399. An item in *Lu Shih* 路史 by Lo Pi 羅泌 of the Southern Sung dynasty (1127-1279) reads exactly the same as the new edition, indicating that this edition may have been compiled as early as in the Southern Sung dynasty. It contains also many stray quotations from ancient exegeses, dictionaries and other books but also consists of unauthorized additions and revisions. Its compilation is not strictly faithful.

² Dating of the reign years of the kings of the Western Chou dynasty is fraught with difficulties owing to the lack of ancient records. Ssu-ma Ch'ien encountered these difficulties when he wrote the *Historical Records*. The *Bamboo Annals* unearthed in a Chi tomb in A.D. 281 records the numbers of reign years of all kings of Western Chou but it has no indication when the reign of each king began and ended. Seizing upon the numbers of reign years of the Western Chou kings, historians and scholars made their calculations but came up with different dates. So far as King Mu's reign years are concerned, the *Historical Records* has two clues: 1. that when he mounted the throne, he was already 50, and 2. that he reigned for 55 years. The *Bamboo Annals* has him also reign for 55 years. In dating the reign years of the kings of Western Chou, I follow Tung Tso-pin's *Chronological Tables of Chinese History*, Vol. I 董作賓中國年曆總譜上編, known for his scientific dating — historical records, inscriptions on oracle bones and ritual bronze vessels, dates of eclipses, the 1st and 15th days of the moon, etc. But he has King Mu reigning 1023-983 B.C. for 41 years instead of 55 years. According to his chronology, in the 17th year of his reign or 1007 B.C. King Mu at the age of 67 was vigorous enough to travel on horseback or by chariot for thousands of *li*, ascending snow-capped mountains, crossing flowing sands, drinking horse blood when short of water and covering a hundred *li* or more a day. He took then the two daughters of the chieftain of the Chi-wen tribe as concubines and later Lady Sheng 盛姬 as consort, whom he loved dearly for when she died he held for her an elaborate funeral service and shed tears repeatedly even after the funeral.

³ An annotation by Kuo P'u in *Hai-wai nan-ching* in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* says: "Shih-jou is a mass of meat like an ox liver with two eyes, which grows full again as you keep on biting it off." 山海經海外南經：聚肉形如牛肝，有兩目也。食之無盡，尋復更生如故。

⁴ What *san-chui* 三騅 was is not known. 騅 *Chui* means a horse with grey and white markings. It could therefore mean a species of horse.

⁵ Here is a lacuna. Since the text first talks of fine silk, the missing word is probably "plain."

⁶ These ancient books were long lost.

⁷ Ch'i-fu 祈父 (Chao his personal name) was Minister of War.

⁸ Huang Chu 黃竹 (Yellow Bamboo) was a place which King Mu passed in severe winter amidst rain, snow and northern wind. He saw the bodies of people frozen to death and composed a poem of three verses expressing his compassion for the sufferings of the inhabitants there.

⁹ The original title is *Yao Hua Lo* 瑤華樂 (Joy of Jade Flowers). The term 瑤華 is from the following line in "The Great Lord of Life" 大司命 in the Nine Songs 九歌 by Ch'ü Yüan:

折疏麻兮瑤華

I pluck the jade flowers of the holy jute.

Tseng Ch'ien-fu 曾謙甫, a critic, thought that it would be more appropriate to entitle the poem 瑤池樂 (Joy on Jasper Pond) where King Mu and the Queen Mother of the West feasted. Many other critics agreed.

¹⁰ The Queen Mother of the West.

¹¹ Lung Yü 弄玉 (Fond Jade), daughter of Duke Mu 穆公 (reg. 659-621 B.C.) who married her to Hsiao Shih 蕭史, a musician. Hsiao Shih could blow the flute to make the phoenix's call. He taught his wife to blow the flute like the call of the phoenix. Legend says that the couple ascended to Heaven to become immortals with Lung Yü riding a phoenix and Hsiao Shih a dragon.

¹² *Kuan-t'ang chi-lin* by Wang Kuo-wei, 18·王國維觀堂集林十八

¹³ "The Calendar of the Muh T'ien Tsz Chuen" by Leopold de Saussure, *The New China Review* Vol. II, No. 6, December, 1920, p. 514.

¹⁴ *A Modern Scientific Study of King Mu's Travels* by Wei T'ing-sheng, Vol. II, p. 189 衛挺生穆天子傳今考第二冊內篇第一八九頁

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 190.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 190.

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The Explosion of Television in South Korea

Joon-Mann Kang

(康俊晚)

During the 1970s, about a decade after the publication of influential books on "communication and development,"¹ the concept of development has shifted its major focus of explanation from "development as social differentiation," to "development as enactment of values," and to "development as liberation from dependency."² Aside from such a shift, one aspect of the debate on communication and development is that it totally disregards the role of the "hardware" of mass media in economic growth. Especially, the old paradigm of development was simply preoccupied with the audience's psychological change through the "software" of mass media. Yet the economic growth of some countries like Japan, Taiwan and South Korea has been much indebted to the hardware industry of electronic mass media as a strategic export outpost. It seems worthwhile to pay some attention to those countries, even if their case is exceptional. This paper is an attempt to investigate the South Korean experience.

DIFFUSION OF RADIO

It was in 1927 while still under

Japanese rule when Korea's first radio broadcasting started. After the liberation in 1945, the radio station was reorganized into the Korea Broadcasting System (KBS). The state-run KBS was the only radio station in the country until 1954 when a privately operated radio network, the Christian Broadcasting System (CBS) started operation. The first commercial radio came into operation in April 1959 when the Pusan Munhwa Broadcasting Station was set up in Pusan. The station was followed by two rival stations — DBS and TBC — which were established in 1963 and 1964 respectively.

The number of radio receivers in the late 1920s was estimated at 1,440, of which only 275 were owned by Koreans with the rest being used by Japanese residing in Korea.³ The number drastically increased in 1945 to about 230,000. The most speedy propagation of radios occurred in the 1960s, together with the emergence of commercial radio stations. The government also set up "amp villages" in farming and fishing areas, distributed radios, and launched a nationwide campaign to send radios and speakers to remote villages. Thus, the number of radios (wireless), which

stood at 707,000 in 1963, increased more than four times by 1970 to reach 3,053,000; and the rate of radio propagation also increased from 26 per 1,000 persons to 94. The increase steadily continued throughout the 1970s. In 1976, the number of radio receivers reached more than 10 million. The 1976 figure shows that every household owned at least one radio receiver (See Table 1). Now five radio stations are based in Seoul, 47 radio systems or relay stations in 25 provincial cities, and 31 FM stations throughout the country.⁴

DIFFUSION OF TELEVISION

Television broadcasting began in 1956 with the opening of a commercial station in Seoul, which was unfortunately destroyed by a fire in 1959. In December 1961, the government-operated KBS-TV station was re-established as the first full-scale television service in the country. The commercial TBC-TV was inaugurated in 1964 and another commercial television station, MBC-TV, was established in 1966.

After the launching of commercial television stations, the diffusion of TV sets was almost explosive in the 1970s. The number of TV sets which registered 2,000 in 1960 rose to 100,000 in 1967-68, to 1,000,000 in 1972-73, to 2,000,000 in 1975-76, to 4,000,000 in 1977-78, and to 8,000,000 in 1983-84 (See Table 1). It was in 1972 that the number of TV sets per 1,000 persons surpassed the UNESCO minimum of 20 TV sets per 1,000 persons. The number of TV sets per 1,000 persons increased to 40 in 1973-74, to 80 in 1976-77, to 160 in 1979-80, and to 200 in 1984-85. The 1980 figure shows

that South Korea had more than 10 percent of the total number of TV sets in the Third World, and about 1.4 percent of that in the world.⁵

Especially after 1973 when the results of the *Saemaul Undong* (New Community Movement) began to present itself in increasing the rural income and changing the rural communities, the spread of TV sets among farming households was conspicuous. In 1969 Seoul possessed 74.9 percent of all TV sets with, the rate dropping to 49.3 percent in 1973, to 30.5 percent in 1978, and to 22.9 percent in 1980.⁶ This shows that TV sets were being popularized on a nationwide scale.

The first use of satellites for communication in South Korea was in 1969 when KBS and TBC brought Korean viewers the Apollo moon-landing. The same year, Korea became the 56th member of the International Telecommunication Satellite Organization (INTELSAT), and the following year built its first satellite earth station in Keumsan, 30 miles from Seoul. The government inaugurated its second and third earth stations in the same area in 1977 for telecommunications with the North and South America, Europe and Africa regions. A fourth satellite ground station was opened in 1984, and a fifth station is being constructed in Poun, Chungchongbuk-do, to help meet the increasing volume of international telecommunications, particularly at the time of 1988 Seoul Olympic Games.

A survey revealed in 1980 that some 63 percent of its respondents watched television for more than three hours daily, about 30 percent for one to three hours, and only 6 percent for less than an hour.⁷ A recent survey also reveals that 26.4 percent of its respondents

Table 1
Trend of Increase in Dissemination of TV Sets

Year	Population (in thousand)	Television Sets (in thousand)	Person Per Set	Radio Receivers (in thousand)	Person Per Receiver
1960	25,012	2	12,506	—	—
1961	25,766	8	3,221	—	—
1962	26,513	31	855	—	—
1963	27,262	35	779	707	39
1964	27,984	45	622	897	31
1965	28,705	50	574	1,067	27
1966	29,436	52	566	1,108	27
1967	30,131	82	367	1,507	20
1968	30,838	152	203	2,025	15
1969	31,544	224	141	2,540	12
1970	32,241	400	81	3,053	11
1971	32,883	594	55	3,400	10
1972	33,505	905	37	4,000	8
1973	34,103	1,187	29	4,447	8
1974	34,692	1,541	23	5,556	6
1975	35,281	1,919	18	5,600	6
1976	35,849	2,538	14	10,045	4
1977	36,412	3,522	10	12,000	3
1978	36,969	4,826	8	20,000	2
1979	37,534	5,136	7	20,000	2
1980	38,124	7,000	6	24,000	2
1981	38,723	7,000	6	—	—
1982	39,331	7,119	6	—	—
1983	39,951	7,226	6	—	—
1984	40,578	8,134	5	—	—
1985	41,209	8,459	5	—	—

Source: The statistics of population came from *Korea Statistical Yearbook 1985*, p. 37. The numbers of TV sets were compiled from *Korea Annual*, 1971-1985, except some years as follows: 1960, 1962-1969 (*Korea's Economy*, p. 343); 1961 (*World Radio and Television*, UNESCO, 1965, p. 97); 1972 (*Korea Journal*, Aug. 1980, p. 49); 1985 (*Joong-Ang Ilbo*, 8 June 1985). The numbers of radio receivers were compiled from following sources: 1963, 1965, 1967-1973, 1976 (*Communication Policies in the Republic of Korea*, p. 49); 1964 (*World Communications*, UNESCO, 1964, p. 231); 1966 (*Korea Annual 1967*, p. 260); 1974 (*Korea Annual 1975*, p. 217); 1975 (*Korea Annual 1976*, p. 213); 1977 (*Korea Herald*, 17 Feb. 1987, p. 6); 1978 (*Korea Annual 1979*, p. 234); 1979 (*Korea Annual 1980*, p. 248); 1980 (*Korea Annual 1981*, p. 263).

Note: The figures of TV sets show only TV sets officially registered with KBS-TV, which is authorized to collect license fees. As some owners are unwilling to register their TV sets, the actual figures are more than the official figures. The 1985 figure of TV sets is as of May 1, 1985, and the 1974 figure of radio receivers is as of July, 1975. The rest of figures are as of the end of each year.

depend upon television as their sole leisure activity during weekends.⁸ Television has become not only an entertainment medium but also the public's major source of news. A survey with a national sample, conducted by *Joong-Ang Ilbo*, shows that in September 1985 television's leadership as an information source was enforced. In answer to the question: "Where do you get most of your news about what's going on in the world?" a total of 49.2 percent of the respondents named television and 40.1 percent chose newspapers.⁹

ELECTRONICS INDUSTRY

The Korean electronic industry goes back to 1958, which saw the first radio manufactured in the nation. After less than three decades, the nation's electronics output reached \$7.28 billion in 1985, and its exports \$4.29 billion or 14.1 percent of the nation's export (See Table 2).

Blessed by the rapid growth of the nation's electronics industry, South Korea has emerged as a global marketer of electronics products. In 1980, Goldstar Co. exported its TV manufacturing technology to Thailand and in 1981 it was the first Korean company to establish a local TV plant in Huntsville, Alabama, U.S.A. In 1984, Samsung Electronics Co. also established a factory capable of producing 800,000 color TV sets and 800,000 microwave ovens annually at Roxbury, New Jersey, U.S.A. Now Goldstar is building a local color TV and VCR plant in West Germany.

The impressive development of the electronics industry is a miniature version of Korea's successful economic story. Yet it should be noted that the birthplace of its success is a domestic market. Put

it differently, the rapid dissemination of TV sets, as well as radio receivers, can largely be attributed to the development of the domestic electronics industry. From the early 1960s, Korea's electronics industry experienced notable development. In 1966 the government designated the electronics industry as a strategic export industry and provided it with various financial aids and preferential tax treatments. In the same year, the domestic assembling of television sets was realized. Also the Electronics Industry Promotion Law promulgated in 1969 has provided an institutional foundation to support the industry.¹⁰

In late 1972, color television was a public issue, when the Commerce and Industry Ministry was supposed to decide whether color TV was practicable for South Korea. The debate flared up after the ministry announced that test production was under way to turn out 300,000 color-TV sets, 10 percent of which would be for local buyers. One of the nation's leading newspapers, *Dong-A Ilbo*, carried a critical article saying that the sale of color-TV sets to Korean citizens at that time was a "fringe operation of a new export venture which would amount to letting the tail wag the dog."¹¹ The ministry stated that the priority for some years would have to be given to spreading black and white sets among the less-privileged rural population.

However, the electronics industry was supported by other ways. Above all, color-TV exporters could obtain favors in importing electronic components for home consumption.¹² Korea manufactured its first color-TV sets from early 1974. And it was not until 1981 that both KBS and MBC began telecasting color programs. Yet registered

Table 2
10 Largest Exporting Items

Div. Rank	1975		1981		1984		1985		1986 (1-10)	
	Item	Amount	Item	Amount	Item	Amount	Item	Amount	Item	Amount
1	Textile	1,840.2 (36.2)	Textile	6,186 (29.5)	Textile	7,079 (24.2)	Textile	7,004 (23.1)	Textile	7,170 (25.6)
2	Electronics	453.0 (8.9)	Mining	2,343 (11.2)	Ship	4,684 (16.0)	Ship	5,040 (16.6)	Electronics	5,318 (19.0)
3	Mining	231.4 (4.6)	Electronics	2,219 (10.6)	Electronics	4,160 (14.2)	Electronics	4,285 (14.1)	Steel	1,983 (7.1)
4	Plywood	208.1 (4.1)	Ship	1,404 (6.7)	Mining	2,851 (9.7)	Steel	2,582 (8.5)	Footwear	1,726 (6.2)
5	Footwear	191.2 (3.8)	Footwear	1,049 (5.0)	Footwear	1,398 (4.8)	Footwear	1,571 (5.2)	Ship	1,478 (5.3)
6	Fish	183.4 (3.6)	Metal	981 (4.7)	Metal	1,103 (3.8)	Oil Product	914 (3.0)	Auto Part	1,272 (4.5)
7	Ship	137.8 (2.7)	Synthetic Resin	605 (2.9)	Synthetic Resin	696 (2.4)	Auto Part	768 (2.3)	Electric Tool	773 (2.8)
8	Metal	124.1 (2.4)	Tire	459 (2.2)	Electric Tool	623 (2.1)	Synthetic Resin	741 (2.4)	Synthetic Resin	749 (2.7)
9	Petro- chemical	95.4 (1.9)	Fish	428 (2.0)	Toy & Doll	486 (1.7)	Electric Tool	609 (2.0)	Toy & Doll	593 (2.1)
10	Synthetic Resin	88.3 (1.7)	Plywood	392 (1.9)	Tire & Tube	470 (1.6)	Metal	538 (1.7)	Metal	505 (1.8)
	Share	3,552.9 (69.9)	Share	16,066 (76.5)	Share	23,550 (80.5)	Share	24,053 (79.4)	Share	21,567 (77.0)
	Total	5,081.0 (100.0)	Total	20,993 (100.0)	Total	29,245 (100.0)	Total	30,283 (100.0)	Total	28,001 (100.0)

Source: *Korea Times*, [Supplement], 30 Nov. 1986, p. 2.

color TV sets numbered 1.2 million even at the end of 1981. It should be noted that Korea began local color telecasting earlier than scheduled as a result of the 1979 U.S. imposition of import quota on Korea color TV sets at the level of 300,000 units a year, while the country's production capacity reached 1.1 million units. As about 90 percent of the products was exported to the U.S. market, the Korean government and manufacturers had to turn to the nation's domestic market.¹³

Curtailed prices and special consumption tax rates for color TV have enabled the majority of Koreans to enjoy color TV at reasonable prices. Largely because of the government's support for the industry, the number of color TV sets jumped to 4.2 million in 1984, and to 4.8 million in 1985 (See Table 3). It is estimated that the number of color TV sets reached more than 5 million in 1987, thus boosting the total number of TV sets in Korea to 10 million¹⁴ nearly.

Table 3
Trend of Increase in
Dissemination of Color TV Sets

Year	TV Sets (in thousand)
1981	1,200
1982	2,299
1983	3,181
1984	4,200
1985	4,774

Source: 1981, 1984 (*Korea Herald*, 17 Feb. 1987, p. 6); 1982 (*Korea Annual 1983*, p. 227); 1983 (*Korea Annual 1984*, p. 230); 1985 (*Hankook Ilbo*, 17 Feb. 1987, p. 6).

Unlike the official figures registered with KBS, which is authorized to collect license fees, the electronics industry believes that the color TV market reached the 80 percent level of the total households.¹⁵ Thus, the manufacturers are seeking new outlets by diversifying their product categories into high technology intensive new media products. The industry is working on new models incorporating a variety of styles, such as projection TVs, high definition models, digital TVs, multi-channel TVs, multi-sound stereo TVs, and eyesight protective TVs. It also produces a variety of new equipment and products utilizing state-of-the-art technology, such as laser technology, which spurred miniaturization, enhanced capacity and density, and incorporation of other varied new features.¹⁶

At the same time, as the distribution rate of video tape recorders (VTRs) stood only at 9 percent as of the end of 1985, the three electronics majors — Goldstar Co., Samsung Electronic Co. and Daewoo Electronics Co. — are waging hectic competition among themselves in the sale of VTRs. The three firms already reduced their VTR prices twice in 1986 in order to be competitive from around the level of 700,000 won to about 300,000 to 400,000 won in a move to increase their share of the market. They are also marketing new models with lighter and slimmer designs in step with the recent trend of making electronic products smaller and thinner. The three firms market 12 new types of VTRs.¹⁷

The promotion activities of Korean electronics manufacturers are enormous. They have been the nation's leading advertisers from the 1970s. In 1985, the big-three manufacturers took the

Table 4
Top 10 Advertisers in 1985

Rank	Company	Expenditure (in Million Won)
1	Samsung Electronics Co.	13,825
2	Gold Star Co. (Electronics)	11,802
3	Pacific Chemical Ind. Co.	11,435
4	Daewoo Electronics Co.	11,325
5	Cheil Sugar Co.	9,149
6	Nhongshim Co. (Foods & Confectionary)	7,796
7	Lucky-Goldstar Int'l Group	7,536
8	Yuhan Corp. (Pharmaceutical)	6,308
9	Hai Tai Confectionery Co.	6,078
10	Cong-A Pharmaceutical Co.	6,042

Source: *Joong-Ang Ilbo*, 27 Jan. 1986, p. 15.

first, second and fourth slots in the rankings of the nation's advertisers (See Table 4). The sales competition between Gold Star and Samsung Electronics is extremely fierce. They even had their domestic television commercials for television set sales produced by Japanese and American firms by spending as much as \$280,000 in order to present luxurious computer graphic commercials.¹⁸

Furthermore, for years, the nation's electronics manufacturers have forced their employees to buy several of their products as a promotion tactic. The employees' salaries have often been paid by commodities like color TV sets and VTRs. Thus, some, who could not resell them to their friends or relatives, came to find that they possessed more than two color TV sets. Recently, the government finally intervened and ordered the companies to stop this

practice.¹⁹ The government recently disclosed a strategy to foster the electronics industry as a leader in Korea's economic growth. A Trade-Industry Ministry report projects that the electronics industry would score an annual growth rate of 17.6 percent until 1991 and 15.3 percent until 2000. The electronics exports, which reached \$5.3 billion during the first ten months of 1986, are estimated at \$12.8 billion in 1991 and \$44 billion in 2000, according to the ministry report.²⁰ There is no doubt that by then Korea will be one of the television-richest countries in the world.

RECONSIDERATION OF TELEVISION

The process of the "explosion" of television in South Korea has been based on the Say's Law that the supply

Table 5
Advertisers' Expenditure for TV

Year	Expenditure (in Million Won)	Year to Year Increase Rate (%)
1970	1,795	—
1972	4,679	—
1974	14,835	—
1975	26,845	80.9
1976	30,387	13.2
1977	40,920	34.7
1978	54,543	33.3
1979	63,090	15.7
1980	82,007	30.0
1981	95,761	16.8
1982	136,843	42.9
1983	192,954	41.0
1984	253,640	31.5
1985	266,980	5.3

Source: The figures from 1970 to 1974 are from *World Press Encyclopedia* (New York: Facts on File, 1982), p. 585. The figures from 1975 to 1985 are from *Korea Herald*, 8 Nov. 1986, p. 4.

itself creates the demand.²¹ Nevertheless (or therefore), television as a software medium has been the most profitable business in the nation. This means the phenomenal expansion of television advertising market. Korean enterprises' spending on television advertising marked an increase by 15 times from 1970 to 1975, by 3.1 times from 1975 to 1980, and by 3.3 times from 1980 to 1985 (See Table 5). In Korea, TV advertising is predominantly a seller's medium as is prime-time radio advertising. Programs on prime-time television are almost completely booked in advance, and it takes a few months before one can buy time.²²

Television in Korea has been very successful primarily as an entrepreneurial medium (for advertising and electronics industries). However, many in the nation began to reconsider what television should be. This reconsideration seems to be a corollary thinking about the impacts of the nation's so-called Press Amalgamation Plan in 1980, which was executed under the name of the public interest (vs. the corporate interest). Under this Plan, two private broadcasting companies — TBC and DBS — were absorbed by the government-owned KBS. The CBS, which had strongly criticized government policy in its radio news broadcasts, was forced to confine its

coverage to religious news. MBC, which had been government-owned but independent of KBS, was required to sell 65 percent of its shares to KBS. Thus two TV networks operate under centralized authority. The two networks have four channels (KBS has three — KBS-1, KBS-2, and KBS-3) and operate 22 branch stations in 11 provincial cities.

After the restructuring and reorganization of broadcasting, what was most apparent in Korean television was the uniformity in news reporting. Television, both KBS-TV and MBC-TV, says Jae-Won Lee, "acted as an agent of governmental propaganda and political campaigns. The two television systems seemed to compete in loyalty to the government."²³ In fact, during national assembly elections in February 1985, opposition politicians and journalism professors attacked biased reporting by KBS and MBC as favoring government candidates.²⁴ Moreover, the transition from the commercial system to the state-owned system of television has recorded a phenomenal increase of advertising hours. Despite its revenues from subscription fees, the state-owned system has increased its TV commercial advertising hours to 537 hours in 1984

from 182 hours in 1981.²⁵ The KBS-TV earned a total of 280 billion won in 1985 and the earnings broke down to 130 billion won from subscription fees and 150 billion won from commercials.

From the early 1986, some religious groups began a protest campaign against the network's biased news reporting and excessive advertising hours. Their strategy was to call on citizens to halt payment of the network's subscription fees. The campaign became a national movement by April 1986 when the nation's opposition party actively joined the campaign. Fearing that the movement might develop into a political one, the government soon announced its plan to reduce commercials on a gradual basis until the state-run broadcasting network will depend on viewing fees for 70 percent of its revenues and on commercials for the remaining 30 percent. However, the main issue was Korean television's pro-government bias rather than the commercials. How this conflict will be resolved remains to be seen. Is television just a toaster with a picture? But television as a cultural forum seems to be too important to be sacrificed at the altar of economic growth.

NOTES

¹ See Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (New York: Free Press, 1958); Lucian Pye, ed., *Communications and Political Development* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1963); Everett M. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations* (New York: Free Press, 1963); Wilbur Schramm, *Mass Media and National Development* (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford Univ. Press, 1964); Everett M. Rogers, *Modernization among Peasants: The Impacts of Communication* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969).

² See Alejandro Portes, "On the Sociology of National Development: Theories and Issues," *American Journal of Sociology*, 82:1 (1976), pp. 55-85; Peter Golding, "Media Role in National Development: Critique of a Theoretical Orthodoxy," *Journal of Communication*, 24 (Summer 1974), pp. 39-53; Luis Ramiro Beltran, "Alien Premises, Objects, and Methods in Latin American Communication

- Research," *Communication Research*, 3:2 (1976), pp. 107-34; Everett M. Rogers, "Communication and Development: The Passing of the Dominant Paradigm," *Communication Research*, 3:2 (1976), pp. 213-40.
- ³ Chang Yong, "Telecommunications and Postal Services in Korea," *Korea Journal*, 8 (1 Jan. 1968), p. 14.
- ⁴ Hahn Bae-Ho, *Communication Policies in the Republic of Korea* (Paris: UNESCO, 1978), p. 24; "KBS Celebrates 60th Broadcasting Anniversary with Variety Programs," *Korea Herald*, 17 Feb. 1987, p. 6; *Hankook Ilbo*, 17 Feb. 1987, p. 12.
- ⁵ According to the BBC estimates, as of 1980, Third World owns 68,806,000 TV sets out of 511,492,000 TV sets in the world. See Robert L. Stevens, "Radio and Television Growth in the Third World, 1960-1985," *Gazette*, 38 (1986), p. 117.
- ⁶ Choe Chong-Ho, "Korea's Communication Culture: An Inquiry into Spoken and Written Words," *Korea Journal*, 20 (Aug. 1980), p. 49; *Korea Annual 1982*, p. 242.
- ⁷ Reported in Jae-Won Lee, "South Korea," *World Press Encyclopedia Vol. 1*, George Thomas Kurian (ed.) (New York: Facts on File, 1982), p. 591.
- ⁸ *Joong-Ang Ilbo*, 12 March 1987, p. 16.
- ⁹ *Joong-Ang Ilbo*, 28 Sept. 1985.
- ¹⁰ *Korea's Economy: Past and Present* (Seoul: Korea Development Institute, 1975), pp. 81-82.
- ¹¹ Quoted in Sunwoo Nam, "Republic of Korea," in John A. Lent (ed.) *Broadcasting in Asia and the Pacific: A Continental Survey of Radio and Television* (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1978), pp. 42-43.
- ¹² "TV Sets," *Asian Messenger*, 1978 Winter/1979 Spring, p. 14.
- ¹³ "Curbs on TV" and "Color TV," *Asian Messenger*, 1978 Winter/1979 Spring, p. 14.
- ¹⁴ *Hankook Ilbo*, 17 Feb. 1987, p. 12.
- ¹⁵ "Consumer Electronics Industry Grows Steadily," *Korea Times*, 29 July 1986, p. 2. According to official statistics, less than 56 percent of the total households possess color TV sets (See Table 1 and 3). A survey with a national sample, conducted by *Joong-Ang Ilbo* (28 Sept. 1985), shows that in September 1985 a total of 67 percent of the respondents owned color TV sets.
- ¹⁶ *Korea Times*, 29 July 1986, p. 2.
- ¹⁷ "VTR Makers Wage Hectic Competition," *Korea Times*, 20 June 1986, p. 11.
- ¹⁸ *Joong-Ang Weekly*, 8 Oct. 1986, p. 12.
- ¹⁹ *Dong-A Ilbo*, 28 Feb. 1987.
- ²⁰ "Production of Electronic Industry Expected to Grow to \$72 Bil. by 2000," *Korea Times*, 10 Oct. 1986, p. 9.
- ²¹ Jean Baptiste Say, *A Treatise on Political Economy: Or, the Production, Distribution and Consumption of Wealth* (New York: Kelley, 1964) (Originally published in 1803).
- ²² Lee Kap-Soo, "Foreign Ad Firms Venturing into Burgeoning Local Marts," *Korea Herald*, 31 Oct. 1985, p. 6.
- ²³ Jae-Won Lee, p. 591.
- ²⁴ See *Shing Dong-A*, 306 (March 1985), pp. 262-69; 307 (April 1985), pp. 254-61; 320 (May 1986), pp. 124-41, 212-43; 332 (July 1986), pp. 206-17, 218-29.
- ²⁵ Bae In-Joon, "Korea Broadcasting Advertising Corporation (in Korean)," *Shin Dong-A*, 321 (June 1986), pp. 494-515.

An Assessment of Political Attitudes among Elderly Palauans toward the Compact of Free Association with the United States*

Dirk Anthony Ballendorf

INTRODUCTION

Of all of the new political entities in Micronesia which have been negotiating their future political status with the United States over the past eighteen years, none has been handled with more difficulty than Palau. The reason for the difficulties has been essentially because the Palau constitution has not been harmonious with the negotiated Compact of Free Association with the U.S.

The Palau constitution provides that no nuclear materials may enter its territory unless a 75% vote of the electorate allows it. Under the Compact, the United States is responsible for the defense of Palau and the U.S. says that it cannot meet its responsibilities in that regard unless nuclear materials may, at least, transit Palau territory. There has resulted an impasse which has required, thus far, two plebiscites both of which have not achieved the required 75% vote.

Some Palauans, notably the high chief *Ibedul Yutaka Gibbons*, have

challenged the constitutionality of the Compact in the Palau high court and have been successful. The United States has maintained that it will go ahead with the Compact approvals in Compact until some harmonious agreement is worked out. One observer of current events in the Pacific says that these American-Micronesia political negotiations have been like "a minuet in a slow motion that still plays on. One partner — the U.S. — dwarfs the other and consistently moves a beat behind the music; the other moves with agility, but responds to music wafting from other rooms."¹

Because there are many factions in Palau, some of which are quite diametrically opposed, the political climate of Palau is especially interesting to study. At the same time, it is often difficult to study due to the high levels of controversy surrounding many of the issues, and the frequent reluctance of the principals involved to talk about their positions.

The present study attempts to assess

* This study was made possible by a grant from the Western Pacific Gerontological Training Project at the University of Guam.

the political attitudes of a defined group of Palauans who have considerable political experience and memory — the elderly. They have not only witnessed the entire American period in their islands, but some have witnessed the entire period — the Japanese administration — as well. Moreover, they are not as reluctant to speak candidly on the issues surrounding political events and directions.

The proposal for this study was made to the director of the Western Pacific Gerontological Training and Development Project at the University of Guam, in April 1986. The project was approved in May 1986, and the field data was gathered in Palau by the principal investigator from June 29 to July 18, 1986.

The research design called for a series of interviews and was followed essentially without modification. Interviews for the data were collected throughout Palau and in the capital center of Koror. The months of June and July form part of the wet season in Palau, making travel difficult but not impossible. Members of the sample were willing respondents. The data was collected during a time when several critical events occurred in Palau, namely, (1) a visit by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz; (2) a Palau judiciary decision which held that the entrance of nuclear materials into Palau without a vote of 75% of the voting population was a violation of the Constitution; and (3) news from the United States that approval of the Compact of Free Association would go forward from Washington in spite of the court's ruling. All of these events helped to create a social climate in Palau which was especially interested in and sensitive

to current political affairs, and this probably increased the propensity to participate on the part of the sampled respondents.

Besides the sample group providing the data for the substance of this study, the group also demonstrated their interest and willingness to make studies such as this one worthwhile and useful not only to outside observers and institutions such as the University of Guam, but also for the benefit of social processes and measurement thereof in Palau which can enhance the understanding of all concerned in the overall development of the Republic of Belau.

This study attempts to assess the political attitudes of elderly Palauans, both men and women. However, it is not a survey of how people voted on the Compact of Free Association. Respondents were not asked specifically how they voted, although a few did volunteer such information.

BRIEF HISTORICAL POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The Palau Islands were opened to the West by the British sea captain Henry Wilson, who, with his crew, was wrecked on the reef in his packet ship *Antelope* in 1783.² Wilson found Palau to have a political organization somewhat analogous to medieval feudal states. The people of Koror, led by their high chief, the *Ibedul*, helped Wilson to build another ship which took him and his men to Hong Kong and thence to England. In return for their assistance Wilson established the *Ibedul* in a position of dominance against his rival, the *Reklai* of Melekeok by joining a war party which subdued the Melekeok people through the use of firearms. In order

to maintain this position of dominance the Ibedul sent his son, Lee Boo, back to England with Wilson where he unfortunately died of the smallpox after a few months. In return Wilson left one of his crew members, Madan Blanchard, in Palau. Blanchard fell into local rivalries and was later killed by the Palauans.

Between the time of Wilson and the closing years of the nineteenth century Palau was occasionally visited by explorers and traders and some small beachcomber settlements were established. After the Spanish were challenged by the Germans for claim to Micronesia in 1885 and the matter was mediated by the Pope, the Spanish attempted some presence in Palau through the half-hearted establishment of religious missions, but the Spanish, whose original claim was traced to Magellan when he landed at Guam in 1521, never seriously tried to colonize the islands outside of the Marianas in Micronesia.³

In 1899 Germany purchased all of Micronesia — the Marianas, Marshalls, and Carolines — from the Spanish following the Spanish-American War. Then the Germans established a colony with schools and a dispensary in Koror. The Germans' interest was in economic development, but their administration was short-lived and they were never able to solidly establish themselves. With the outbreak of World War I the Japanese swept through Micronesia and seized all the German lands in the Pacific north of the equator.⁴

Following World War I Japan was awarded Micronesia under a "class C" mandate from the League of Nations. This arrangement provided for what was, in effect, a complete colonial administration. The Japanese regarded

the Micronesians as backward, undeveloped people who had to be civilized. Their rule was complete and direct and intended to incorporate Palau and the rest of Micronesia into the Empire. Koror was the seat of the Japanese civil administration. Their efforts at economic development were extensive and determined. Palauans participated only at the margin and in menial capacities. They had a segregated educational system of three years with two years extra for promising students. Beginning in the 1930s further vocational education was provided for special students beyond the fifth grade.⁵ The terms of the League of Nations mandate did not allow any on-site inspections, and other countries were forced to gain information through intelligence networks.⁶

Japan was ousted from Micronesia in a series of bloody battles during World War II. In Palau, Peleliu island was the major Japanese stronghold and it was taken by the Americans at great cost in September 1944.⁷ In 1947 a "strategic trusteeship agreement" was signed between the United States and the United Nations, and the U.S. has administered under this agreement ever since with the Interior Department being the agency of the government in charge of the administration. Eleven Trusteeships were established after the war under the UN, but Micronesia was the only one that was designated as "strategic."

All eleven trusteeships were administered within the United Nations by the Trusteeship Council. Yearly reports were presented to the council by the administering powers. These various trusteeships were located in Africa and the Pacific. Since Micronesia was a "strategic trust," however, it

was under the jurisdiction also of the Security Council of the United Nations.⁸

For roughly the first fifteen years of the Trusteeship the United States policy was one of benign neglect, or as some observers have dubbed it "the zoo theory of administration"⁹ whereby very little development occurred. Despite keen interest in the democratic processes on the part of the Micronesians, it was 1965 before the U.S. established the Congress of Micronesia. This legislative territory-wide body was the most important part of the political education and development of the Micronesian people prior to the opening of future political status negotiations in 1969. Simultaneously with the development of the Congress of Micronesia were the developments of the various island legislatures which were established according to the TTPI physical jurisdictions: Marianas, Yap, Palau, Truk, Pohnpei, Kosrae, and the Marshalls. By the time the future political status talks began, the American model of democratic process and procedure was fairly well established.¹⁰

Throughout the period of American administration, and even during the Japanese period before it, we see a gradual erosion of the traditional Micronesian power structure under the clan and chief system of governance and decision-making. This was especially evident in Palau in the late 1960s when the traditional leaders withdrew their support from the Palau legislature in protest of too much power going to the newly-elected political leaders who were not high-clan people.¹¹ This friction and rub between traditional and elected leaders remains to this day.

In 1969 formal talks between Micronesians and the United States

began. For the United States a special representative was appointed by the President with the rank of ambassador. For the Micronesians, a Future Political Status Commission was established by the Congress of Micronesia. The talks proceeded on a Micronesia-wide basis and it was the American policy at that time to treat the TTPI as a single political entity and negotiate one status for all. All sorts of future options were considered at first, ranging from a continuation of the trusteeship to complete independence, with many options in between. Micronesians on the commission and on various committees traveled to other parts of the Pacific to examine and experience the political arrangements of other former colonial and trusteeship areas. By the early 1970s views which advocated the fragmentation of Micronesia were being expressed by various Micronesian groups. The Marshall islands did not want to be a part of the greater Micronesian whole since they had the Kwajalein Missile Testing Facility in their district from which they gained considerable revenues, and they were reluctant to share these with the rest of the territory. The Marianas wanted a close association with the United States since Guam was in their island group and it was already a U.S. territory. Palau saw itself as separate because it had an important geopolitical position which it saw as a lucrative negotiating key to gain more revenue. These are a few of the reasons for the fragmentation opinions. The United States recognized the regional differences and in 1973 it recognized a separate negotiating team from the Marianas and proceeded to arrange for a commonwealth status for the Northern Marianas. This separate

recognition caused the breakdown of the Future Political Status Commission of the Congress of Micronesia.

During the Ford Administration a status of free association was agreed upon by the United States for the rest of the TTPI. This status was a new one within the American political scheme. It was an autonomous, self-governing status, although not a completely independent one. It allowed for complete self-government internally for the Micronesians, but provided for defense and military affairs to be handled by the United States. The U.S. would provide annual grants of money to the Micronesians which would be spent largely according to their own design and procedures.¹²

In order for "free association" to be implemented it was necessary for a constitution to be drawn up and ratified which would provide for governance. It was also necessary to negotiate a treaty, or in this case a Compact of Free Association, which would govern the relations of the islands with the United States. Thus, there were two documents, the Compact, and the Constitution, which had to be drawn up and agreed upon. The Constitution was a document drawn up entirely at the Micronesians' device. The Compact was a document to be negotiated.

A Constitutional Convention was begun in 1973 with representatives from all the island areas in Micronesia. Finally, by 1976 it was ready for ratification and it was agreed that it would govern an entity to be known as the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM). In 1977 each of the districts in the TTPI voted on the Constitution. The results were that four districts ratified: Yap, Truk, Pohnpei, and Kosrae, and

hence these island groups became known as the FSM. Palau did not ratify and the Marshalls did not ratify. The Marianas had already negotiated a Covenant for a Commonwealth with the United States.

These results meant that the Marshalls and Palau had to draw up their own Constitutions, and pursue separate negotiations with the U.S. for their own Compacts of Free Association with the United States. Informal negotiations in this regard had already been going on since the total fragmentation of Micronesia was already foreseen. In 1979 the Marshalls ratified a Constitution of their own, but Palau had three tries before ratifying one in 1981. The slower pace in Palau had to do with rubs between traditional and elected leaders, and over the issue of American desires to retain large tracts of land for military option use. Palau has a lot of land in relative terms to the rest of Micronesia. Guam is the largest island in Micronesia, but Babelthuap in Palau is the second largest — two-thirds the size of Guam.

The two documents governing the essential arrangements of free association are (1) a Constitution, and (2) a Compact, as has been mentioned previously here. Under the arrangement, these two documents have to be harmonious. In Palau's case, they were not. Specifically, in Palau's Constitution there was a provision which prohibited any presence of nuclear materials in the islands without the vote of 75% of the voting population. In order for the freely-associated status to become effective, approvals were necessary on both sides. For the Palauans this called for approval by the negotiators, the elected representatives, and a plebiscite by the people. Then, for the

American side, after the President's representative had signed, the matter had to be approved by the House and Senate and then signed by the President. Following all of this, approval also had to be gained from the United Nations for the termination of the Trusteeship. All of this proved to be a long and drawn-out process taking many years.¹³

In two plebiscites held in Palau in 1983 and 1985, the popular vote was 67% and 72% respectively on the matter of the nuclear materials coming into Palau. However, since the required 75% was not realized, it was thought by the United States that a special subsidiary agreement would have to be made for the military parts of the Compact. The actual approval of the Compact's concept required only 51% which had already been realized.

The chief U.S. negotiator and the Palau President negotiated a special agreement then, which held that the nuclear-free clause in the Palau Constitution applied only if nuclear materials were going to be permanently stored or present in Palau, but that it would not apply if such materials were simply in transit and in Palau only temporarily. This appeared to solve the problem and there seemed to be widespread support of the special agreement in Palau both among the elected officials as well as the traditional leaders.

In March 1986, however, the *Ibedul*, Palau's highest ranking traditional leader, filed suit against the President of Palau claiming that the Compact was illegal because even transit nuclear weapons would and should be considered constitutionally illegal, and so the Palau government will have to now appeal to redetermine constitutionality.

In summary and conclusion, it can

be said that the political development of the Palauans has come a long way from the time of Captain Wilson. As a people the Palauans are embracing of democracy, and are as tenacious, determined, and indefatigable in their exercise of it as any democratic state anywhere in the world. The outcome of the present difficulties with the Compact of Free Association with the United States is yet to be seen.

THE "ELDER STATESMEN" OF PALAU

Our sample in this study — people of Palau who were born between the years 1900 and 1930 — make up only a very small part of the total Palauan population.¹⁴ Their own parents were born during genuinely primitive times before Palau was effectively settled with Western influences and administration. Their parents were of the generation that inspired Guagan, Maugham, Stevenson, and Becke. The oldest among them (actually "too old" for this sample but included anyway) — the *Ebilreklai* of Melekeok — was born in 1883, and remembers clearly the German anthropologist Augustin Kramer, who arrived in Palau on an expedition in 1908. She lives in simple splendor amidst people who love her dearly, eats largely plain, local foods, and speaks no other language than Palauan; a formula which will undoubtedly get her many more years in her present good health. The elder Palauans live close to the red clay soil of the islands in small, modest houses with little furniture. They sit on the floor, talk gently (not always softly), and exude an air of extreme patience with life. They possess a good humor and exhibit a quiet and admirable

strength of character. They scold young children who are often boisterous and noisy, but they never strike them. During my interviews, which were often held sitting in the doorways of the houses, the three and four year olds would fit comfortably into their laps listening intently, or would slither around them playfully like puppy dogs while the conversations went on.

Everyone respects their elders in Palau, and they appear as stalwart models for all younger citizens. But the respect, on closer scrutiny, is more ritual than substance. The elders are listened to but not heeded, especially in political matters, and they are restful and stubborn in return. All of the elderly in this sample were educated during the Japanese times (1914-1944), and a few had attended school also during the German times (1899-1914). Their education was to the third grade mandatorily, and then certain promising ones were permitted another two years. Their schools were separate from those attended by the Japanese civilians who resided in Palau. These people were called *tomin* (meaning "native" or "islander") by the Japanese. This was a term which connoted inferiority, but the elderly, as they recall and relate those Japanese times today, seem rather objective and not bitter about such designation. They clearly saw the superior technology and energetic behavior of the Japanese and seem to have admired it. The schools for Palauans were called *kogakko* and the schools for the Japanese were called *shogakko*; both mean elementary school, but there was a distinct difference in curriculum and facility; the *shogakko* prepared Japanese for further education in Japan while the *kogakko* was a terminal

program.

All of the members of the sample group could speak and understand some Japanese; they could read and write to some extent during those times, but they cannot do that now. When shown simple Japanese characters or script, they can make something of it, but they do not read Japanese newspapers or other literature today. In fact they do not read much of anything today; their culture is almost completely oral. They watch television — VCRs — and listen frequently to the radio broadcasts from Koror which carry local news, gossip, and information all in Palauan. A few of the sample group had some mixed blood — Japanese or Chinese — but all consider themselves as "true Palauan." Their daily conversation is all in Palauan, and even if they can speak or understand some English and Japanese, they stay with Palauan.

During the time of this study Palau was paid a visit by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. A torrential down-pour occurred at his arrival on the Airai airstrip which caused the welcoming party to scurry for shelter; the Shultz group was rushed to a waiting car. "This is our ancestors weeping for us," was the sort of comment which came from many of the elderly, and the jest of their comment was that Palau's current involvement more and more with the outside world and international geopolitics is probably something to lament.

Such reluctance to understand, embrace, or participate in the modern developments is a prime cause of friction between the elderly and the younger, middle-aged, elected leaders. Quite a few of the younger group members will openly remark that the old people are "out of date," "irrelevant," and

"to be discounted because they will soon die off." Such an attitude, commented upon or seen before by other observers, is today the rule rather than the exception in Palau.¹⁵ For their part the elderly are well aware of their neglect and growing lack of respect, but they react mostly with a passive resistance to whatever the younger people do and say, and the current political participation on the elders' part is a prime example.

There was unanimous agreement among the members of the sample that the American times were better — and are better — than the Japanese times. "We are freer now and can speak our minds, while then we were like slaves," is a typical comment. However, while all of the group is pro-American, most are at the same time against the Compact of Free Association. "We do not know about this compact," they say; "the political people do not explain it well to us." They, as a group, prefer to wait on their approval of the compact, and attribute their waiting and conservatism to insufficient knowledge and understanding.

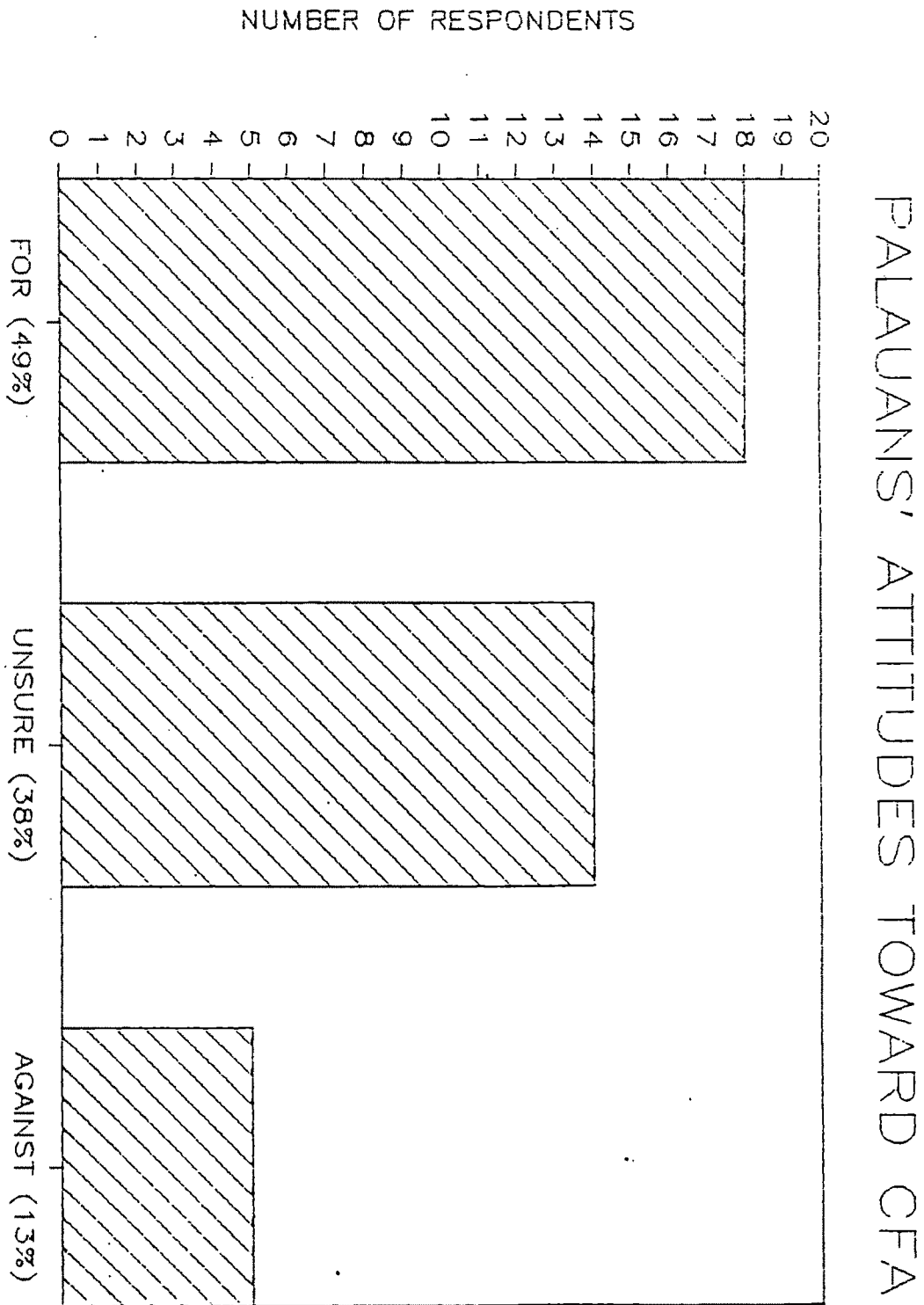
In summary, the members of this sample group can be characterized as traditional in their thinking, educated during the Japanese times, and cautious in their views and dealings with the generation of Palauans who now hold political office. Most of the information they receive about the Compact of Free Association is by word-of-mouth.

ANALYSIS AND COMMENTARY

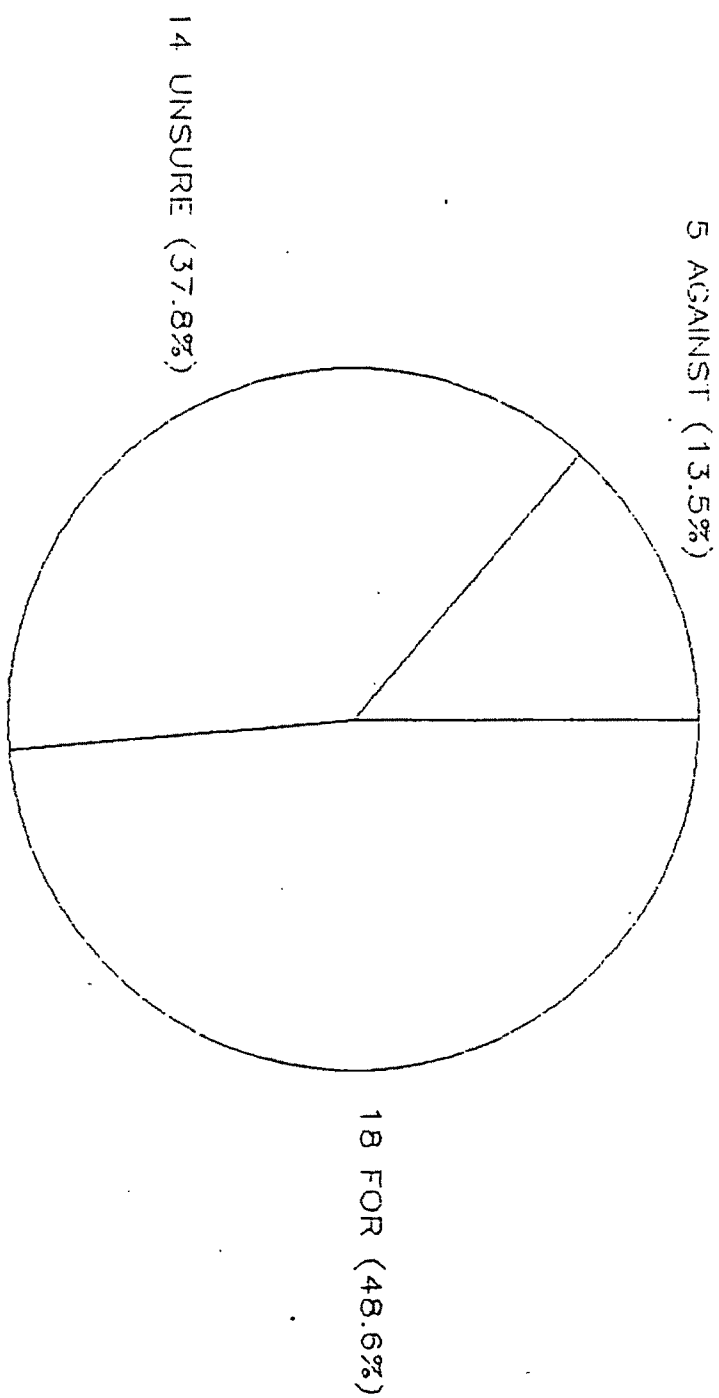
According to updated census figures, the resident population in Palau for March 1986 is 13,772. The U.S. Census figures for 1980 report that the population of people born between 1900 and 1930 is 1,339. These are the available data.¹⁶ This would put the percentage of the sample universe for this study at approximately 9%. In all there were 37 interviews used for the sample, making it .03% of the universe.

The attitudes of the people in the sample group interviewed of being either for or against the Compact of Free Association was taken as an indicator of being favorable or unfavorable to change. Since none of those interviewed were asked specifically how they voted (this is not a study of voting behavior), their comments which were favorable or unfavorable were noted. In some cases the respondents came right out and said they voted for or against ("yes" or "no") the Compact. But such responses were taken here simply as favorable or unfavorable. In all 18 people were for the Compact, and 19 were against it for 49% "yes", and 51% "no". However, many of those who were against the Compact held this view because they were "unsure" about it. They felt that they had insufficient information with which to make a clear judgment. Using this "unsure" category, the breakout was as follows:

	FOR	UNSURE	AGAINST	TOTAL
Number	18	14	5	37
Percent	49%	38%	13%	100%



PALAUJANS' ATTITUDES TOWARD CFS



The reasons that people were for the Compact were that they could see the developmental benefits for Palau under the Compact. They could see that more funding would be available for Palau and many could see that political status of the Compact provided for greater Palauan determination than the present Trusteeship arrangement does. Comments such as "we will get more money," "it will be good for development," and "it will be better for the younger people who can get more education," were typical. Some members of this favorable group, however, said that they were following the lead of the younger people as well as their children who said that they should be favorable, and so they were. "We will follow the advice of the younger people and the elected leaders," was a typical comment.

The 13% who were against the Compact took this position because they did not like the idea of the military coming to Palau and they perceived that this would happen eventually under the Compact. Also, these people did not like the arrangements for the military leasing the land as they understood it. The land is very important to Palauans because there is so little of it and people have to pass it along to their children and heirs. Some in this group understand that the military options on the land in Babelthuap will be leased by the Palauan government, and not leased directly by the military from the land-owners; the Palau government will be the "middle man." While this appears to be a reasonable and efficient arrangement, there is reason to believe that many older Palauans are cautious when it comes to seeing their own government lease the land. They appear insecure

about this, and obviously do not completely trust their government in this regard.

Another reason for being against the Compact was because the people felt that the entrance of nuclear materials into Palau was something they did not wish to see. They pointed to the danger which surrounds nuclear materials. This anti-nuclear materials view seems to be one more readily expressed among the younger people. Being against the military as well as being uneasy about the use of land, is a greater reason for being against the Compact among the older people. Most of those who are against the military in the older group agree with the expressed Palauan adage: "When soldiers come, war follows."

Of the group that was unsure about the Compact, the biggest reason for uncertainty was that they felt they simply did not have enough information upon which to make a clear judgment. Although this might at first appear to be something of an excuse — and perhaps it was in some cases — there is cause to think that, for Palau, there is some real reasoning behind it. The political education campaign which was conducted in Palau prior to the most recent voting (and even prior to that) was, in the opinion of many "too fast." Oftentimes people would comment that the political people who came to explain the Compact did not answer all their questions, or else left them somewhat confused. Some said that these political people spoke only to the elected leaders in the villages and did not spend enough time with the older people and did not answer all their questions. They felt that they needed more time to think and more information to think with. They thought also that a lot of the information they

got was confusing.

The Compact has been translated into Palauan from the English, and there are copies available around Palau to be read by the older people. However, many of the older people do not read even the Palauan version and prefer instead to have things explained to them. Traditions in Palau among the elderly are oral. Almost all the members of the sample group had been educated during the Japanese times and had gone to school for either three or five years. They could speak and understand Japanese; some quite well. Since the Palauan language is largely spoken and not written, there is considerable ambiguity in it. This might suggest that for older people it might be better to have the Compact explained to them in Japanese which is more precise and more clearly understood than Palauan. The younger people read and understand English very well, and those who have actually read the Compact say that they have done so in English rather than in Palauan.

There are a number of historical reasons why the older people are hesitant about the Compact of Free Association. In all cases they have lived through World War II and the suffering and destruction that it brought to Palau. Many have experienced also the Japanese colonial period before the war and there is much in that experience which also causes conservatism. In the 1920s and 1930s the Japanese made large land survey in Palau and elsewhere in Micronesia. These land surveys were not always fair, and many Palauans feel that they were cheated out of the land by the Japanese. Definitive explanations of these land survey situations can be found elsewhere.¹⁶ After the

land was surveyed by the Japanese authorities, there were ample public lands which were made available for homesteading. Three large homesteading programs were realized by the Japanese and these resulted in several settlements on Babelthuap Island in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Japanese farmers were brought from Hokkaido with their families. The Palauans seem to have gotten along very well with these homesteaders; however, they always felt that they were taking over their land. Some of these claims to the land which was taken then have not yet been settled to the satisfaction of many older people. They are hence reluctant to see any more arrangements put into effect which would take land or reserve it for some use other than what they want.

After World War II began, and after it started to go badly for the Japanese, the military authorities in Palau seized a good deal of Palauan property including land. Labor was forced in many cases, and food was confiscated. These are also clear memories of the Japanese military behavior. The Japanese established a very large military base on Peleliu Island which included two airstrips and many warehouses and communications facilities. Before the American invasion of Peleliu, the Japanese asked the people to move off the island in order that they wouldn't be in danger from the impending hostilities which were expected when American bombing raids were stepped up during the summer of 1944. These Peleliu residents were moved to Babelthuap Island, especially to the municipalities of Ngiwal and Ngaraard. When they were finally allowed to return to Peleliu after the cessation of hostilities, they found their island completely destroyed, flattened.

From the recollection of these experiences, the older people draw many analogies with the proposed Compact of Free Association. The Japanese surveyed the land and then moved in; the Palauans did not get it back. Many feel that the U.S. military might do something similar. All Palauans, both young and old, are aware of the U.S./Russian conflicts. They fear that the military interest could result in the establishment of U.S. military bases or facilities on Babelthuap which the Russians would attack during a war, similarly as the Americans attacked the Japanese at Peleliu during World War II. This time they understand that the destruction would be much worse, especially because of the existence of nuclear weapons. Whether or not such things could happen, or are even reasonable, is quite beside the point. The logic expressed by the elderly is based on their experience, and persuasions to the contrary fall on disbelieving ears.

All of the members of the group were solidly pro-American. When asked how they would compare Japanese times with American times, their responses were always contrasting rather than comparative; all said the American times were, and are, better and that the Japanese times were harsh and difficult. At the same time the respondents said that they were not very familiar with the formalities of the Trusteeship Agreement. They do not know exactly what the differences are formally between the Trusteeship and the Compact, except that when the Trusteeship ends the

United Nations will no longer be involved. Most of the people interviewed have either met or seen the President of Palau; however, not many have actually talked with him about political status outside of situations connected with an election campaign for the President when he went around to the villages on his campaign. The President, however, does seek the opinion of the Council of Chiefs and they make their views known through this council. It is more with the other elected officials that the older people feel they are not much heeded and so they are cautious and conservative in return.

In conclusion, then, the political attitudes of the older Palauans in the sample may be characterized as follows:

1. Conservative and cautious. When there is room for some doubt, or room for more thought, the elderly will reserve their judgment.

2. Reluctant to allow a military presence in Palau which appears to be in support of an active defense or deterrent; the presence of nuclear materials is not wanted.

3. Notably mistrustful of the younger, elected leaders, especially around such issues as land leasing and land disposition. Their own government is to be regarded with some suspicion in this connection.

4. Very pro-American. Although there is considerable reluctance to embrace the Compact of Free Association, there is absolutely no reluctance to embrace America and American democracy and presence.

NOTES

¹ E.B. Mihaly, "Tremors in the Western Pacific: Micronesian Freedom and U.S. Security," *Foreign Affairs*, 52:4 (July 1974) 839-849.

- ² A definitive description of this first encounter can be found in: George Keate, *An Account of the Pelew Islands*, London: 1788; special edition republished by the TTPI Library Services Office with funds provided by the LSCA Title III, 1978. A companion volume which also provides description of the event is found in *The History of Prince Lee Boo* (Dublin: C. Crookes); repr: (Miami, Florida: Mnemosyne Publishing Company, Inc., 1969).
- ³ Paul Carano and Pedro C. Sanchez, *A History of Guam* (Tokyo: Tuttle and Company, 1964).
- ⁴ Peter J. Hempenstall, *German Administration of the Pacific Islands* (Canberra: Australian National U P, 1975). Also see: Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie. eds., *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895 to 1945* (Princeton: Princeton U P, 1983).
- ⁵ The latest and most comprehensive history of the Japanese administration in Micronesia is Mark R. Peattie, *Tropic Sun: Japanese Administration in Micronesia*, Pacific Monograph Series (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, forthcoming 1987). A copy is available at the Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.
- ⁶ Dirk Anthony Ballendorf, "Secrets Without Substance," *Journal of Pacific History* 16 (April 1984): 78-91.
- ⁷ The latest description and interpretation of the battle for Peleliu is: Harry A. Gailey, *Peleliu 1944* (Annapolis, Maryland: The Nautical and Aviation Publishing Company, 1983).
- ⁸ The United Nations Security Council has five permanent members: (Red) China, France, USSR, UK, and US, and ten other members elected by the General Assembly for two year terms; thus making a fifteen-member body. The Trusteeship Council used to have more members during the time that there were eleven Trusteeships. Today, however, there are only five members and these are the same as the Security Council: US, USSR, France, UK, and (Red) China.
- ⁹ One of the best overall accounts of the American administration during the early years of the Trusteeship, and also a very readable one, is E.J. Kahn, *A Reporter in Micronesia* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1966).
- ¹⁰ The best work done on the Congress of Micronesia and the attending political development of the period is Norman Meller, *The Congress of Micronesia* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1969).
- ¹¹ See: Donald R. Shuster, "Islands of Change in Palau," University of Hawaii doctoral dissertation, Graduate School of Education, 1982.
- ¹² Washington, D.C., *Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations*, descriptive materials available at MARC, University of Guam.
- ¹³ See: *The Guam Tribune*, D.A. Ballendorf series on the Trusteeship years, May 22, 27, June 1, 3, 6, 10, 13, 17, 20, and 24. Other opinion and debate on the status negotiations can be found in Henry J. Schwalbenberg, *Micronesian Seminar Memos, 1-10*, available at the Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.
- ¹⁴ According to Masaharu Tmodrang, the chief translator of the Compact into the Palauan language, the sample group for this study comprises eight per cent of the total population in Palau.
- ¹⁵ A most comprehensive and enlightening discussion of the general plight of the elderly in Micronesia can be found in: Leonard Mason, "Growing Old in Changing Micronesia," *Pacific Studies* 6.1 (1982): 1-25.
- ¹⁶ All figures are from the Palau State Planning Office, Koichi Wong, Director, Koror, 15 July 1986.
- ¹⁷ Vide, Mark R. Peattie, *op. cit.*

Outline of Okinawa International Centre

JICA

FUNCTION AND ROLE OF OKINAWA INTERNATIONAL CENTRE

The Okinawa International Centre came into being corollary to the "ASEAN Human Resources Development Initiative" proposed by the then Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki during his visits to ASEAN countries in January 1981. Okinawa was chosen as the site of the Centre as it is geographically close to ASEAN countries and as it shares many things in common with ASEAN countries in terms of culture and climate. The construction started in October 1983 and the Centre officially opened its doors on 17 April 1985.

The Centre, based on the bilateral agreements between Japan and developing countries, accepts various levels of government officials, technologists, researchers, etc. from developing countries as the technical training participants; and serves as the Centre for training and lodging during their training at national and prefectural institutions, laboratories, experimental stations, universities, etc. as well as at the Centre itself.

Okinawa is located at the southernmost tip of the Japanese archipelago, and its climate and geographical characteristics enable us to offer courses best suited for transfer of appropriate

technologies for ASEAN countries.

In addition to the technical training, the Centre will, in future, provide information back-up service for ASEAN Human Resources Development Centre and will also serve as liaison for international personal exchange. The latest large scale computer, audio-visual facilities, and library of the Centre will have much to contribute to these future functions.

Okinawa International Centre, like other eight existing training centres of JICA, is well equipped with modern facilities to insure effective training and comfortable stay for participants.

FACILITIES OF O.I.C. AND ITS OUTLINE

The Okinawa International Centre, occupying the spacious 33,000 m² land area, is located at Urasoe City which shares its southern boundary with Naha City, the seat of prefectural office. The Centre is situated on a hill two kilometers away from the centre of the city, and commands an excellent view of East China Sea at north-west and Pacific Ocean at east. The University of the Ryukyus is located 3km north-east of the Centre, the ruin of the Shuri Castle is located 4km south, and the ruin of Urasoe Castle is located nearby. Urasoe had thrived as a capital of the ancient Kingdom of the

Ryukyus since the dawn of history of Okinawa until the beginning of the 15th century when Sho Dynasty transferred the capital to Shuri.

The design of the Centre's buildings and its surroundings incorporates the traditional features of Okinawan architecture such as red tiles for roofs and floors, Okinawan red bricks for sun shades, shisah (talismanic Chinese lion) on roof tops, Ryukyuan marble for main entrance, Ryukyuan limestone for the impressive stone walls and arches, the master-pieces of traditional Okinawan masonry, Ryukuan garden with simple landscaping, etc.

Gymnasium, playground, tennis court, and swimming pool are available for participants for sports and recreation and for exchange activities with local residents.

As the vicinity of the Centre abounds with tropical flora, the design and layout of buildings pay careful attention to the protection of and harmony with surrounding plant life.

OUTLINE OF FACILITIES

Location: 1143-1, Maeda, Urasoe City, Okinawa, JAPAN 901-21

Telephone: (0988) 76-6000

Site area: 33,000 m²

Structures:

Main building — R.C. 3 stories

Welfare facilities building — R.C. 2 stories

Accommodation building — R.C. 2 stories

Building area: 5,099 m²

Total floor space: 9,886 m²

Main facilities:

Main building:

Multi-purpose conference room (Orientation Room), Meeting rooms (2), Research rooms (5), Directors Office, Reception rooms (2), Administrative offices,

Computer laboratory, Seminar rooms (6), AVT studio, Library, Language laboratory, Typing rooms, Instructors' offices, Lobby, Lounge.

Welfare building:

Dining room, Lounge, Audio room, Video room, Recreation room, Machine room, Electric room.

Accommodation building:

90 single and 10 twin rooms (w/bath, toilet & telephone), Lounges, Typing rooms, Laundries, Swimming pool, Gymnasium (760 m²), Tennis court, Playground (45m x 90m)

ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTION

The Centre, headed by the Director, consists of the General Affairs Division and the Training Division. Their main functions are as follows:

Director	General Affairs Division (General administration of the center) Administrative routines; Budgeting and accounting; Establishment, revision, and abolition of rules & regulations; Facilities and property management; Guidance and counseling for participants; Recreational, sports, and cultural activities; Public relations; Management of library.
	Training Division (Planning and implementation of technical training programmes) Planning, implementation and evaluation of training programmes; Development of new courses; Training coordination and interpretational work; Briefing and orientation; Japanese lan-

guage courses; Management of training materials and instruments; Coordination with training organizations.

TRAINING COURSES AT O.I.C.

1. Courses conducted within the Centre

a. Information Processing Personnel (10 courses).

Supported by the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, Administrative Inspection Bureau of the Management and Coordination Agency, Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Corp., and Fujitsu Ltd., the courses are designed to train participants in the advanced computer application technologies to contribute to the development of computer technology in participating countries. The Centre has, among the exhibits on the 2nd floor lounge, the panel showing each stages of computer development and the display of I.C. elements.

b. Audio Visual Technology (2 courses).

Covers audio-visual technologies including the video production at the studio. With the participation of teachers of local high schools and universities as instructors, the courses offer unique

opportunity for effective technical exchange between local educational institutions and participants.

c. Japanese Language.

To insure effective transfer of technology at developing countries through Japanese language, the Centre conducts long-term Japanese language courses for project counterparts of recipient countries.

The Centre, in addition to the above courses, conducts Orientation Programmes for participants covering Japanese politics, administration, economy, culture, education, geography, etc. as well as courses on introductory information processing, basic audio-visual techniques, and Japanese language for all participants as these skills are now common requirements in other fields too.

2. Courses supported by the prefectural government, universities, and other public and private institutions

- a. Marine Techniques.
- b. Sugarcane Cultivation.
- c. Public Health Technologists.
- d. Marine Environment Protection.
- e. Clinical Nursing.
- f. Effective Utilization of Tropical Agriculture and Forestry Resources.
- g. Forest Soils.



Fig. 1. Okinawa International Center



Fig. 2. Orientation Room



Fig. 3. At the Studio



Fig. 4. At the Terminal Room



Fig. 5. Language Laboratory



Fig. 6. Ryukyu Garden



Fig. 7. Gushiku



Fig. 8. Rest House



Fig. 9. Commemoration Tree Planting

Classical Japanese Poems in English Translation

Graeme Wilson

Diver

No-one dives to the ocean-bottom
Just like that:
One does not learn the skills involved
At the drop of a hat.

It's the slow-learnt skills in the depths of love
That I'm working at.

Lady Nakatomi (8th century)

Drowned Man

A man lies dead on a beach
Which only birds frequent.

In the background, mountains;
At his feet, the spent
Spume of the sea; and sea-weeds
Curled to his careless head.

Ask his name and dwelling,
Nothing will be said:
But somewhere, wife and children,
Waiting for him, say
Soon now he'll be back with us,
Today, for sure today.

Anonymous (8th century)



Asian Culture Quarterly

Fashion

My dear, you say, they're all disasters

Antique, but solid gold:
You prod at the rings and shining combs
Your jewel-boxes hold.

When will I too be found to be
Unfashionably old?

Fujiwara no Tayu (- 731)

Hydrangea Girl

Even among the tongueless plants
Which cannot speak to lie,
Some, like hydrangeas, change their colour.

Tell me, on what can I
Who trust your words, hydrangea-girl,
Reliably rely?

Otomo no Yakamochi (718-785)

Lespedezas

Not long before the end,
Turning a feeble head,
"The butterfly-flowers"
— alas, my master —
"Not yet out? ", he said.

Yo Myogun (early 8th century)

Loneliness

Darling, when you do not come
My world becomes a blur
Of loneliness so bitter
It would sharpen vinegar:
Yet, if you do come, afterwards
One feels yet lonelier.

Anonymous (late 7th century)

Classical Japanese Poems

Memento

Take as a memento
This silken gown I spread
There where we slept.
 A white stone-pillow
Wrapped in such a red
Will always wake my dreamland self
Within your sleeping head.

Prince Yuhara (early 8th century)

Mountain Roses

Had I not known of their burst to bloom
I might have held my tongue,
But now that you've sent me mountain-roses
I am so wrung
With a rage of longing, a rage of longing,
That I have no choice
But to vent my bed-bound broil of heart
In an exercise of voice.

Otomo no Yakamochi (718-785)

Mountain Wizard

This figure of a mountain wizard
Carries both furs and fan,
As if to teach that timelessness
Began when time began:
Summer is winter, winter summer.
Ah, what a knowing man.

Kakinomoto no Hitomaro (681-729)

One-sided Love

Your going has but deepened
The depths of my distress.
That every night I dream of you
Betrays, I grieve to guess,
Not just the fervour of my love
But its sad one-sidedness.

Lady Otomo no Sakanoue (699-781)

On the March

So far we've marched, so many miles
My need for her is numb.

Comrade, do not melt the stony
Coldness I've become
With talk of wife and children,
The warm lost world of home.

Anonymous (5th century)

Plum Blossom

That elegant plum-blossom
Which I had begged you so
To come and see and wonder at
Will now be hard to show.

It proved a frost. Indeed it proved
Not even plum but snow.

Yamabe no Akahito (-736)

Preferred Season

When winter's cramps are loosened by the spring,
Birds, that had long kept silent, start to sing
And plants, long flowerless, flourish into bloom.

But since in spring the mountain-bosage grows
So greenly dense, one cannot then find room
To see, still less to pick, the flowers one knows
Are somewhere there but, in such lushness, lost.

Now, when I see the leaves with which the frost
Yellows the autumn mountains, those defy
My power to pass them, those I gather in.

Where green leaves still remain, with that half-sigh
Things pitiful evoke, I pass them by . . .

If one must choose, then autumn can but win.

Princess Nukada (c. 640-c. 700)

Pressing Journey

But for some need to travel, on the dear
Arm of his wife would lie the wearied head
Of this unhappy man, grass-pillowed here,
Who sleeps the long, long nightmare of the dead.

Prince Shotoku (573-622)

Rainbow

Let everybody know we love.
Who cares if it should show
Plain as the rainbow at the weir
Across the Ikaho.

If only I may sleep with you,
Who cares how many know.

Anonymous (6th century)

Red Star Lily

In the shadow of a thicket
On this summer-wasted land,
Their startling flowers unremarked,
The red-star lilies stand.

To burn with love, and yet to be
Not even noticed. Agony.

Lady Otomo no Sakanoue (699-781)

Robe

Sewing your robe, I worked the needle
Featly to and fro,
And write these lines with matching care
That, wearing it, you'll know
My heart is sewn in every stitch
I took such pains to sew.

Lady Abe (written c. 740)

Scattered Blossoms

I had hoped, dear heart, by moonlight
When the sky was thickly starred
And the moon itself just past its full
To show you in my yard
The whiteness of my orange-blossoms.

But there, all over the ground,
Some stupid cuckoo's clumsiness
Has scattered them around.

Otomo no Yakamochi (718-785)

Sea-farer

By long-established custom
The people of Japan
Deprecate the expression of feeling:
We expect of a man
Great depth of heart but yet still greater
Depths of self-restraint.

Nevertheless as the waves roll in,
As the waves roll in and paint
Their hissing foams to my very feet,
I find that I shout my prayer:
Again and again I shout it out
As the spoondrifts wets my hair
That the force of my words may carry you safe
Through the wickedness out there.

And because the sorcery of words
Works magic in Japan
My chanted prayers will bring me back
My wave-endangered man.

Anonymous (8th century)

So . . .

Had you not so led me on
 (For ever and a day,
 So long as sun and moon endure,
 So you used to say),
Should I now so agonise
For what time took away?

Lady Otomo no Sakanoue (699-781)

Some Other Time

Some other time, you tell me;
Not now; perhaps; we'll see.

Knowing you've no intention
Of anything with me,
I think I'd think you kinder
For a no's flat honesty.

Ki no Toyokawa (written c. 739)

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JICA is the abbreviation for Japan International Cooperation Agency, a government organization established in 1974. The Okinawa International Centre is one of JICA's training centers.

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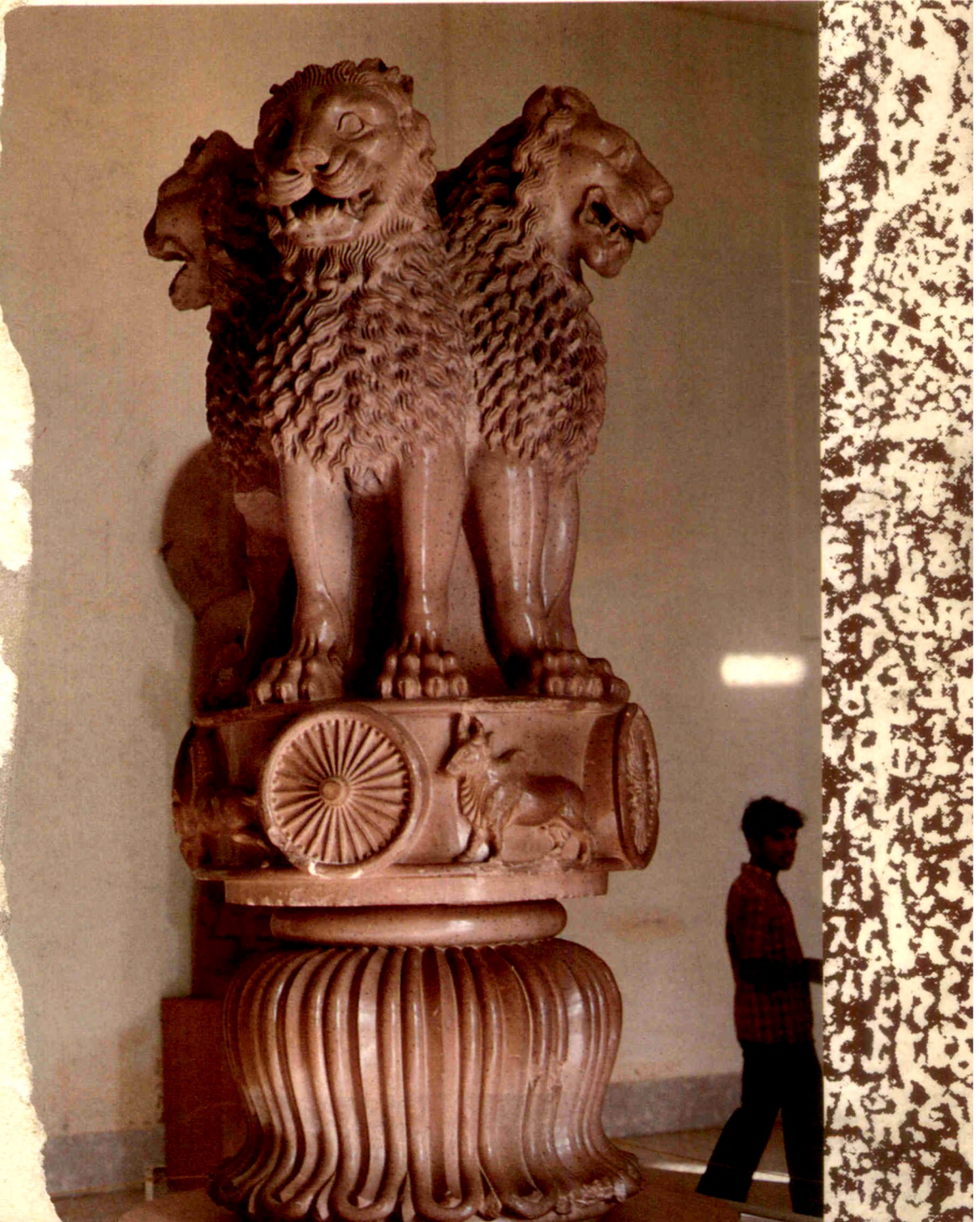
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Winter 1988

4



ANNOUNCEMENT

Ambassador James Shen, editor of the *Asian Culture Quarterly* since the Autumn 1979 issue, has decided to retire. Now that he has reached 80, he feels that it is time for someone younger to take over. As this is the last issue for which he is responsible, he wishes to avail himself of this opportunity to thank all readers and scholars who have contributed articles to the Quarterly for their kind help and support during all these years and sincerely hope they will extend the same help and support to his successor, whose name will be announced in the Spring 1989 issue.

Cover: One of the most magnificent specimens of art so far discovered in India, this Lion Capital of Aśokan Pillar, now at the Museum of Archaeology of Sārnāth, is 7 feet tall from the bell-shaped portion (decorated with 16 petals in Persepolitan style) up to the top of the four life-sized lions. The middle portion, resembling a drum, has four wheels of 24 spokes each in high relief. In the spaces between the wheels are the figures of an elephant, a bull, a horse, and a lion. The material of which the capital is made is a black-spotted buff-colored sandstone of very fine grain. The photo is by the Rev. Myōkō Hayashi of Japan, friend of Hōyu Ishida who wrote the article "Aśoka, the *Cakravartin*, and His Dharma" for this ASIAN CULTURE issue. Used as background of the photo is part of the rubbing of the Aśokan Rock Edict from Kālsī, printed in black and white in the 1973 edition of Mochizuki's *Bukkyō Dai-jiten*, a dictionary on Buddhism (first published in 1933) by the Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai of Tokyo.

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The Golden Rule in Confucianism and Christianity

Robert E. Allinson

While Confucianism is a broad term with a wide reference, I would like to restrict it in this context to Confucianism as it exists in the primary texts of the *Analects* (論語), *The Great Learning* (大學) and the *Doctrine of the Mean* (中庸).¹ While Christianity is also a broad term with a wide reference, I will take it to stand for the set of doctrines representing the Judaeo-Christian tradition with a special emphasis on the doctrine of universal love.² Within these general limits, I would like to compare the two great traditions by selecting out one main principle shared by both which has a strong claim to be the central ethical principle in each. This principle I shall characterize as the Golden Rule, a term which I shall use without prejudice as indicating either the negatively formulated (and not for that reason negative in orientation or value) version of Confucianism and the affirmatively formulated version of Christianity. There are, to be sure, other similarities and differences both unifying and dividing these two traditions. But this central principle, differing only in linguistic formulation, offers us a golden opportunity (excuse the pun), for observing similarities and differences relevant to the area of ethics.

My paper will be divided into two

parts. The first part will concern itself with establishing that Confucianism stands for universal rather than graded love; that is, a preferential love for one's family. Without this part of the paper, it might appear that Confucianism and Christianity are not comparable on this fundamental point at all. In order to establish that Confucianism and Christianity share a common ground, I will first make a very brief historical comment to suggest why there has been a *perceived* difference between the two traditions. Perceived Confucianism will be distinguished from Confucianism proper. I will then propose three arguments of a textual and a philosophical kind to establish that Confucianism can be fairly regarded as standing for the principle of universal love. The first part of my paper will thus be an attempt to show forth the similarities that exist between Christianity and Confucianism in the area of ethics.

The second part of my paper will be devoted to attempting to explicate what differences might exist between Confucianism and Christianity on the basis of the semantic differences that exist in the formulation of the Golden Rule in each tradition. We will explore briefly the implications of the different formulations for the views of human

nature in both traditions. We will also explore what possible advantages and disadvantages might lie with each formulation. Finally, we will ask in what way or ways the two traditions may gain from each other. In other words, what is the value of a Confucian-Christian dialogue.

To begin, there are historical reasons for why such a teaching as preferential familial love came to be ascribed to Confucius. While in this brief compass we can by no means do justice to the complexities of this topic, we can take note of two important external early influences and one important internal, textual influence. First, it is mainly the *Book of Filial Piety* — composed in the third century B.C. — that attributes to Confucius the view that filial piety is the “root of virtue and the source of all teaching (Ch. 1).”³ It is perhaps because of this that Confucius has been taken to be the champion of filial piety which is, as a matter of fact, rarely mentioned in the *Analects* (論語) except in the first two books. Secondly, the influence of Mo Tzu (墨子), who placed a strong emphasis on universal love as opposed to the doctrines of graded love he attributed to his Confucian opponents, played some role in strengthening the thought that graded love was a Confucian doctrine. Thirdly, with respect to internal, textual reasons, we must take note of the fact that filial piety is mentioned in a very prominent place in the *Analects* (論語), in I. 2, which may have contributed to the prominence given to it in the perceived tradition. As evidence of how the perceived view of Confucianism as standing for graded love is still influential up to the present time, one may take note of the fact that the title of David

Wong’s paper, ‘Graded Love versus Universal Love’ given at the Eastern Division meetings of the American Philosophical Association for the panel of the International Society for Chinese Philosophy in December, 1986, reflects that Confucianism is still widely regarded as representing graded love as over against the universal love of Mohism or Christianity.

In what is to follow, I will offer three arguments in an attempt to establish that Confucianism stands for universal love and that the notion therefore that it stands for graded love is not apropos of Confucianism proper. The first of my three textual and philosophical arguments is that some of the passages which are cited as evidence for the importance or primacy of filial piety for Confucianism and the consequent justification for the favoritism that is to be shown to family members are in fact evidence that such a value as filial piety is considered hypothetical and not categorical in axiological status. To borrow Kant’s distinction, if a value is put forth as a means for the sake of achieving a higher value, then it cannot be taken as the highest value that is being espoused: it is therefore a hypothetical value (in strict terms it would be a hypothetical imperative). It does not follow that it possesses no value; it only follows that its value is secondary. For example, the saying which is analyzed in *The Great Learning* (大學), Book IX. 1, is, “To govern a state one must first bring order into one’s family.” It is clear from this passage that familial values are hypothetical to the end of bringing order to the state. It would appear from this and other, similar passages from Book IX that filial piety is being put forth as a

hypothetical value, a value which is valuable because it contributes to the order of the state. It would seem to follow from this that filial piety could not be taken as one's ultimate value. If anything, all that one could conclude from these passages is that the state would take precedence over the family rather than the family members possessing a privileged status. But we would only be justified in drawing this conclusion if we found textual evidence which stated that the state was the ultimate ethical end-goal of man's development and we do not find such textual evidence. In fact, the ultimate virtue is said to be to illustrate illustrious virtue under heaven (Legge).⁴

The second, and more important argument that I would like to set forth is that filial piety, when it is mentioned in the *Analects* (論語), is not meant as an exclusive form of love, but rather is designed as an epistemological guide and as an ontological locus for our ethical feelings and values. By an epistemological guide, I mean that statements about filial piety are designed as procedural statements for enabling us to come to know how to find and how to apply our ethical values. By an ontological locus, I mean that such statements also serve the purpose of showing us the origin of our ethical feelings and values. It does not follow from this that the totality of our ethical values consists in or can be reduced to the ways by which we can become aware of our ethical values or the ways in which our ethical values arise. In Western terms, to appraise the final cause or the end-goal of our valuation by its chronological or developmental origin is to commit a species of the genetic fallacy. In Oriental terms, we may

call this a case of mistaking the seed for the fruit.

In the famous passage in *Analects* (論語), I. 2, it is stated that filial piety is the root of a man's character.⁵ Two things must be noted about this passage. First of all, it is not attributed to Confucius but is spoken by Yu Tzu. Secondly, in terms of its content, the root is certainly the origin, but it is not the end-product. If the end-product or goal is something other than filial piety, then what is really being said here is that filial piety is a way in which one learns how to achieve that something else. Filial piety is an epistemological guide to assist one towards achieving the goal of being ethical. At the same time, it is the ontological source of goodness, for the way in which one becomes good is by first being good at home. It is both ontological and epistemological: it is the way to become good and it is also the way in which one can know how to become good. But neither ontological nor epistemological starting points can be confused with end-goals.

Of the two functions of filial piety (epistemological guide and ontological source), I would like to concentrate for a moment on the epistemological function. In *Doctrine of the Mean* (中庸), 20. 5, it is stated that, "Love is the characteristic element of man, and the great exercise of it is in showing affection for relatives." I take this to mean that showing affection for relatives is both a mode of learning about love and a manifestation of love. The love of relatives is not cited here as the exclusive exercise of love, but rather as a powerful example of love and an example with which all of us would be familiar. In Wing-tsit Chan's

deft characterization, this is the beginning of our learning how to be loving, but not the end of it:

While the application of love necessarily starts with parents, such love is by nature contagious, and by the Confucian process of "judging others by what is near in ourselves" all people will eventually be similarly affected.⁶

The third and the last argument I would like to set out is the direct or indirect emphasis Confucius himself places upon the Golden Rule as constituting the most basic principle of his teachings. Whenever Confucius is asked about what is the most central or most important principle of his teachings, he does not at those times refer to familial love. What he speaks about most generally is either *shu* (恕) or *jen* (仁). We will explore briefly below the relationship between *shu* (恕) and *jen* (仁). In any case, there is no qualification placed on either of these notions that they should be applied in a greater degree to one's family members than to outsiders.⁷

We must be careful not to confuse empirical fact with value. We may, as a matter of empirical fact, love our own family members more than strangers. But this has nothing to do with *jen* (仁). The value of loving our own family members relates to *jen* (仁) only as an illustration to us of what love means. It does not follow from the empirical fact that we may love our own family members more than strangers, that we ought to do so. This is to confuse the 'is' with the 'ought'.

No one would question, in the fashionable ethical dilemma cases, that most likely we will show a preference for our own family members over

strangers. It is important to realize that such ethical dilemma cases rarely arise in real life. If such a dilemma did arise, we would be confronting our empirical 'is' with our ethical 'ought'. It would not be the case of a conflict between two 'oughts'. Or, to put this in another way, whatever decision we might arrive at would not be the basis for an ethics. The two 'oughts' would be equal. But we very likely would not be able to deny the greater strength of our empirical feeling that would exist for our own family members.

What is generalizable is that family love can be regarded as the model for the love of our fellow men and for this we may be grateful for the existence of familial love. Most likely, this is the meaning behind the well-known statement in *Analects* (論語), XII. 5, "All within the Four Seas are his Brothers." It is valuable to focus on this statement strongly as it shows the extension of familial love to universal love or, to be more precise, it shows the extension of universal love to family love as everyone becomes a member of one's family. This generalization shows up later in a still more universalized form in the famous *Western Inscription* of Chang Tsai where he declares, "All people are my brothers and sisters, and all things are my companions."⁸ It is interesting to note that this is Plato's solution for social harmony in the *Republic* where he devises a scheme for breeding such that no one knows whose children are whose so that whoever one meets might be (and therefore will be treated) as a member of one's family.

When Confucius is asked what is the most central principle of his teachings, he answers, not in terms of familial love, but in terms of the Golden Rule.

However much he may have valued familial love, he did not value it as the central or the most overriding ethical principle:

Tzu-kung asked, 'Is there a single word which can be a guide to conduct throughout one's life?' The Master said, 'It is perhaps the word "*shu*" (恕). Do not impose on others what you yourself do not desire.'⁹

Again, when asked about what is *jen* (仁), on one occasion Confucius says, 'Do not impose on others what you yourself do not desire.'¹⁰ Since *jen* (仁) is frequently argued to be the most important ethical notion of Confucius and this statement is considered to be a formulation of *jen* (仁), then this statement of the Golden Rule can also be taken as the most important ethical principle of Confucius.¹¹

In another place, to the Master's remark that there was a single thread binding his way together, Tseng Tzu added the explanation after the Master had left that, "The Way of the Master consists of *Chung* (忠) and *shu* (恕)."¹² Why *chung* (忠) is added here is not completely clear.¹³ It is very clear why *shu* (恕) is given as it coheres with the above remark and in addition, *shu* (恕) is defined as an analogy to take what is near at hand as the method of *jen* (仁).¹⁴ *Chung*, despite some arguments for some other meanings, seems to carry the meaning of doing one's best.¹⁵ It is difficult to see what this adds to *shu* (恕), since it would appear to be tautologous that whatever your ethical principle were to be, you would attempt to put it into practice according to the best of your efforts. For this reason, XV. 24 seems preferable. The addition of *chung* (忠) is not in a direct

saying of Confucius but in the statement made by Tseng Tzu, after the Master had left. Since *shu* (恕) had been earmarked before as the single word, perhaps this is what the Master had in mind as the single thread. *Chung* (忠), when added on, makes two threads, not one and makes Confucius' earlier statement about the single thread incomprehensible. It is clear that Confucius did not consider *chung* (忠) to be sufficient for *jen* (仁) as he says of Tzu-wen that he was *chung* (忠) but could not be said to be *jen* (仁).¹⁶ It would be clear from this statement alone that *chung* (忠) could not be the single thread. Whereas, *shu* (恕) could be the single thread in light of XV. 24; XII. 2; VI. 30 and *Chung Yung* (中庸), 13.3. It is certainly the single word. In XV. 24, the text, 'Do not impose on others what you yourself do not desire' is given immediately after *shu* (恕), as if it were the definition of *shu* (恕). Most likely, it was this fact that gave rise to *shu*'s (恕) being translated as 'reciprocity', which is too ambiguous as in English its meaning is open and not referentially fixed. To further explore the relationship between *chung* (忠), *shu* (恕) and *jen* (仁) would take us beyond the scope of this paper. It is important to remember that *shu* (恕) is considered a sufficient procedure for knowing how to practise the way of *jen* (仁). And if *jen* (仁) is the most important ethical principle, then what need do we have of *chung* (忠)? I raise this only as a question, nothing more. What is essential is that whether or not we include *chung* nowhere in the above formulations of the ethical principle is there an attempt to qualify the principle to make it apply only to family members or to apply to

family members in a greater degree than to non-family members.

For these three textual and philosophical reasons, I would conclude that Confucianism proper takes the Golden Rule as its central ethical principle. There does not seem to be a great deal of difference between *jen* (仁) and *shu* (恕) since *shu* (恕) seems to be the procedure whereby one practises the way of *jen* (仁). While a little bit later on, we may draw some further distinctions, we may safely say that the Golden Rule represents the central ethical principle for Confucianism.

I think that there is even less question regarding the centrality of the Golden Rule for Christianity. In one place, it is considered second only to loving God. When asked what is the greatest commandment of the law, Jesus replied, "Love thy Lord your God with all your soul and with all your mind. That is the greatest commandment. It comes first. The second is like it: Love your neighbor as yourself. Everything in the Law and prophets hangs on these two commandments."¹⁷ And again, "And as ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also to them likewise."¹⁸ The only difference in the way that the Christian Golden Rule is formulated is that it is formulated as an affirmative proposition. It is important to note that the difference is semantic, not axiological. Therefore, the terms 'negative' and 'affirmative' are properly applied, not 'positive' and 'negative'. The word 'positive' is prejudicial as it carries with it an honorific connotation when it is contrasted with the word 'negative'. The only other difference between the two formulations that we can notice is that in one of

the Christian formulations love is commanded. In that which follows we can pay special attention to what differences are created by the negative and the affirmative formulations and the commanding rather than the commending of love.

Let us start with the issue of the negative and the affirmative formulations of the Golden Rule. It is of interest that most of the discussions on the differences between the negative and the affirmative formulations concern themselves either with proving why the Christian "positive" version is superior to the Confucian "Silver Rule" or with trying to show that there are no differences between the two formulations since they are both "positive" in effect. For example, Chan "defends" the Confucian tradition against the Western charge that the Confucian doctrine of love is negative. Even for Chan, the term 'negative' is made to refer to the doctrine and not the formulation:

It is often contended in the West that the Confucian doctrine of love is negative because it taught, "Do not do to others what you do not want others to do to you" (XII. 2; XV. 23): *The Doctrine of the Mean*, 13). But the followers of Confucius have never understood it to be negative. ... Commentators on the *Analects* in the last eighteen centuries have never understood the Golden Rule to be negative. In his *Lun-yu cheng-i* (Correct Meanings of the *Analects*), for example, Liu Pao-nan (1791-1895) made this comment: "Do not do to others what you do not want others to do to you. Then by necessity we must do to others what we want them to do, to us."¹⁹

While Chan is correct in his view

that the Confucian *doctrine* of love is not negative, he too quickly reduces the negative *formulation* to the positive formulation in favorably quoting Liu Pao-nan in this respect. This reduction has the effect of eradicating any possible differences (whether good or bad) between the two formulations. In doing so, he shows that possibly he has been overly influenced by the Western view that the Christian affirmatively formulated proposition is the superior formulation.

In the remainder of my paper, I will attempt to go against eighteen centuries of tradition by arguing that the negative formulation carries with it important implications that are not carried by the affirmative formulation (and vice-versa) so that the reduction of the negative formulation to the positive formulation *changes the meaning of the proposition*. Here, I am joined indirectly by Professor Liu Shu-hsien who argues that the formulation of Confucianism is both more detailed than its affirmative counterpart and includes features of self-development not included in the Christian formulation.²⁰

I have already argued at length elsewhere that the negative formulation is consonant with other basic, implicit Confucian attitudes such as modesty in epistemological matters, humility in ethical matters, naturalism, humanism and the belief in the inherent goodness of human nature. In addition, I have also argued that such a formulation might have had the intent or at the very least the effect of preventing moral harm and promoting moral growth.²¹ While I will not repeat all of these arguments here, I would like to focus briefly on this last point before reviewing the

preceding ones.

One of the major differences of the negative formulation is that it does not counsel us to take action towards others. In the quotation from Liu Pao-nan, it is stated that it follows by necessity from the negative formulation (Do not do to others what you do not want others to do to you) that we must do to others what we want them to do to us. But this is not the case. In fact, as I shall argue below, the negative formulation is designed especially to prevent this consequence from occurring. That we must do to others what we want them to do to us is only a logical consequence of the affirmative formulation. Let us take a graphic example of how the negative formulation avoids the consequence of taking action towards others which at the same time implicitly shows why it was designed to avoid this consequence. If one were a masochist and enjoyed being hurt by others, it would follow from the affirmative proposition that one should attempt to hurt others in return. But this in no way follows from the negative proposition. In order to make it follow from the negative proposition, one would be forced to contort language grotesquely. One would be forced to say, 'I would not have others not not hurt me and therefore I would not not hurt them in return.' But not only is this linguistically absurd, but it would be difficult to understand and thus to carry it out. It is obvious that the negative formulation is not well suited to a reciprocity that involves acting in certain ways towards others. The 'not' is understood normally to refer to refraining from action, not taking action. In this case, the negative formulation carries with it the advantage of preventing moral harm.²² I think

it was George Bernard Shaw who said, "Do not do onto others as you would they do onto you, they might have different tastes."

The case of the negative formulation as promoting moral growth is similar. Let us take the example of safeguarding moral choice. If we take an illustration from modern history, the notion of making the world safe for democracy arises very naturally from the background of the affirmative formulation, but would not be a natural deduction from the negative formulation. If I am to avoid harming another, it does not follow that I should attempt to impose a political system on him that I find desirable for myself. It may be simply coincidental that the notion of being the moral policeman or the moral guardian of the world has arisen from the Christian West, but I do not think that it is an accident.

With respect to the other implications to which I have referred (epistemological modesty, ethical humility, naturalism, humanism and the belief in the inherent goodness of human nature), let us take up the first two together and the last three together. The negative formulation of the Golden Rule seems to be a manifestation if not a consequence of the attitudes which I have coined epistemological modesty and ethical humility.²³ If one does not possess certain knowledge of what the good is for oneself, then, *a fortiori*, one would not know what it is for someone else. When asked what the good is, Confucius, in the manner of Buddha and Socrates, never really gives a precise or a comprehensive definition.²⁴ It would seem that epistemological modesty would extend from the lack of complete and certain self-knowledge to the even greater

lack of complete and certain knowledge about others. It is in this spirit, I take it, that Tu Wei-ming writes, "It is only because he [the profound person] cannot be sure of the situations of others in the same way and to the same degree as his own that he is reluctant to pass judgment on them."²⁵ It would also follow from Confucius' frequent statements about his love of learning and his need to learn that he did not already know what the good is.²⁶ In fact, if one is primarily a learner, then this reflects an attitude of ethical humility as well for if one already were perfect, there would be no need to learn. The presence of ethical humility about oneself would also extend to one's attitude towards others. If I lacked a complete and certain knowledge of what the good is (epistemological modesty) and also possessed the awareness that I was not perfectly good (ethical humility), then this would be a further disincentive to consider that I possessed the qualifications to judge what would be good for others. In point of fact, in many cases, when Confucius is asked what *jen* (仁) is, he tends to give a slightly different answer to each person. According to Chan, "... to six different pupils who asked about *jen* (仁) he gave six different answers, each according to the pupil's temperament, capability or environment (XII. 1, 2, 3, 22; XV. 9; XVII. 6)."²⁷ We can find a seventh case where Confucius gives two different answers to the same pupil who asks the same question on two separate occasions.²⁸ In so doing, Confucius seems to display an understanding of the pluralism of the good. What is good for one may not be good for another. And, further, what is good for one on one occasion may not be good for that

same individual on another occasion.

Contrariwise, the affirmative formulation would seem to imply both epistemological immodesty and moral *hubris*. Since you know what the good is (how others should act towards you) there is no lack of knowledge here. Since what is good for you is also good for others, this would imply epistemological immodesty in that you were confident in extending the knowledge that pertained to yourself to others. It would also seem to imply moral *hubris* as well since you felt no moral qualms in the extension of what was good for you to others.²⁹ It also implies, interestingly enough, a unity in the conception of the good since that same good that is perceived as good for one is generalized as good for all.

Let us take up the cases of humanism, naturalism and the at least implicit belief in the inherent goodness of human nature together. Humanism and naturalism are inextricably intertwined. If one is a naturalist in the sense that one believes that one's human nature, when properly manifested, acts for the good, then there is no need for an ethic that would either be imposed upon human nature extrinsically or that would be opposed to human nature. If one were good by nature, there would be no need for concrete moral injunctions. One would only need to ensure that one's nature would be given an opportunity to express itself in its original character. For example, consider *Doctrine of the Mean*, 20: "Love is the characteristic element of man ...". If love is the characteristic element of man, then all that is needed is to find a way for man's character to manifest itself. Or, in a more literal translation, humanity is identical to man, or,

humanity is nothing more than man himself.

It should be fairly clear from this discussion why the best translation for *jen* (仁) is humaneness or humanity rather than benevolence. Benevolence seems to imply some form of moral largesse, an act or acts of goodness which exceed the moral norm. If there can be a benevolent man then there is the possibility that there can also be a malevolent one as well. 'Humanity' simply implies that the trait in question is the proper expression of human nature, nothing more. There is no moral inflation in 'humanity' as seems to be present in 'benevolence'. It can also be seen from this translation of *jen* (仁) that there would be no need to command one to be good to others. If love is the characteristic element of man then it is already in his character to be loving. *Jen* (仁) is the natural outcome of being human. In fact, the character (仁) lends itself to this reading as it is the character for man coupled with the character for two. The implication seems to be that man is other related. To translate *jen* (仁) as benevolence carries the risk of associating this property with something that is extrinsic to human nature; something added, something extra. One can be a man and not be benevolent (it might even allow that one could be a man and be malevolent). Being benevolent is being a man plus. But with *jen* (仁), one cannot be a man and not have humanity. Benevolence carries with it too much of the value of charity. It seems to imply acts that one need not do, but if one does them, that makes one rather special. *Jen* (仁) is simply what it means to be a man. There is no concept of excess here.

If human nature is inherently good, a command to be good would be senseless or at least redundant. In speaking of the profound person, Tu Wei-ming says of him that, "There is no compelling reason why he must dictate rules for them to follow . . . his function is not to command . . ." ³⁰ Shu-hsien Liu makes it clear what moral harm a command approach may bring when he writes conveying the Confucian ideal of Sageliness Within and Kingliness Without, "that . . . it is definitely wrong to force one's way to others as to create a suffocating effect which is most undesirable," ³¹ However, if it were not in one's nature to be good, then it would be useful to be commanded by an extrinsic moral command to be good. The moral rule as a commandment makes sense when we would not be naturally disposed to act in that way. If we are *commanded* to act by the injunction: Do unto others . . . , then the concept of authority of force that is carried by a command can influence us to act in such a way even if it goes against our natural impulses. The concept of love as commanded makes sense when it is not natural for men to be loving. It makes no sense to command that which is already natural. Thus, the presentation of love as a commandment fits perfectly well into a scheme where human nature is inherently evil.

If, after the Fall, all men are tainted with the predisposition for evil, it is far more efficacious to have a command to take action of a beneficial nature towards others than to leave men to their own devices. Otherwise, with an inherently selfish disposition, in the absence of a command to act otherwise, men would be naturally inclined to look after themselves. The negative

formulation of Confucius only makes good sense if it is coupled with the basic assumption of the goodness of human nature.

The question can then arise for Confucius, if man's nature is inherently good, why do we even need the negative rule? Why do we need to know what evils to avoid if we are good by nature? If we have a natural disposition to be good, a counsel to avoid evil would also appear to be superfluous. The answer is that while we are naturally good, we have, from our conditioning, been removed from our original natures. ³² In the meantime, if we are not in harmony with our natures, it is better to have a moral rule to follow in order to avoid harming others. We do not need a moral rule to help others; that will be accomplished through finding our way back to our original natures.

For those of us who are not in touch with our natures, and we must include children here since their natures are not yet fully developed, the negative formulation of the Golden Rule is a procedural rule which returns us to our original natures. Confucius outlined four kinds of men. I take it that of these four kinds of men, those who are born with wisdom would have no need for such a procedural rule. There are, however, other types of men. These are not more evil men, but more ignorant ones. For these men, such a procedural rule is a necessity. This is, I take it, the importance of the negative formulation. It is designed to be applied by those who need its guidance, among whom Confucius included himself. ³³ There is a difference between Confucius and Rousseau.

Where does all of this leave us? It is clear that many of the world's

humanitarian advances have come about because of an active intervention in the lives of others. Whether it is because men are removed from their natures or because human nature is selfish, it appears that human beings are more inclined to help their fellows if they are strongly directed to do so. The advantage of the Christian formulation lies in its stronger injunction to redress social evils. At the same time, this leaves it open to its greatest abuses.

The advantage of the Confucian formulation lies in its greater tendency to grant more freedom of expression to those whom one would profess to love. Ironically, the negatively formulated rule of Confucianism possesses a greater application to the modern values of democracy than the affirmatively formulated rule of Christianity. Its disadvantage lies in the area of possibly being a less effective means of social redress. This disadvantage could be offset by coupling it with a stronger emphasis upon the struggle to make men more aware of their innate potential for goodness. But this is a very slow process. It requires a humanistic education such that man's real nature can be helped to emerge. Without such an accompanying education, Confucianism leaves itself open to a risk factor from the ethical point of view. In absence of a strong injunction to take socially directed actions of a benevolent nature man will not be inclined to redress social ills while removed from his inherently good nature.

From the standpoint of actively intervening in social reforms, we do not need to await a fully humanized, natural impulse to do so. From the Christian point of view, we may do so simply by following the affirmatively

formulated injunction. Christianity, then, possesses the advantage of addressing social ills more quickly. It need not wait upon a fully humanized education for a strong social consciousness to emerge. Confucianism, as we have observed above, carries with it the advantage of guarding and facilitating moral growth. Confucianism is a corrective to the tendency to make the world over in our own image.

There is no facile solution to this dilemma since both formulations carry with them moral value. What is important, I believe, is the recognition of the importance of the different moral objectives that are favored by the adoption of each respective formulation. It is ironic that the Christian West would need to learn from Confucianism the values of being more aware of the need to preserve moral choice. From the Christian West, Confucianism can learn that, on a practical level, its concept of the inherent goodness of human nature is an indirect and slow route to the accomplishment of social good. It is ironic that Christianity can learn more about human rights from Confucianism and Confucianism can learn more about practicality from Christianity!

The lack of awareness of human rights in China has to do with the need to learn more about democracy which is essentially Greek and not Christian in origin. But the notion of the pluralism of the good is already built into Confucianism and a closer attention to the possible reasons behind the negatively formulated Golden Rule may be a beacon for the further development of the tradition of human rights in China. In short, the Chinese people can learn from its own traditional roots a tradition which places a high premium upon

preserving moral choice. In order to do so, one must be careful to preserve the differences that exist between the negatively and affirmatively formulated versions of the Golden Rule. If we are too anxious to reduce the two formulations to each other, we run the risk of missing the unique contributions each tradition has to make to the other.

The Chinese people can learn from the Christian West the non-nature-based notion that we have a duty or an obligation to help others. While we could believe that this impulse will arise naturally, it seems that it is especially difficult to us to become attuned to our own natures. If nothing else, progress is too slow. We run the risk in the meantime of being too ethically lazy, not socially concerned enough. The notion of a non-nature-based ethical duty towards others may be a means of accelerating social change.³⁴

The Christian West can take a lesson

from Confucianism to respect each other's rights. Epistemological modesty and ethical humility are values that go hand in hand with humanism. Epistemological immodesty and ethical *hubris* are values that go hand in hand with more active social intervention to bring about social reforms. Each tradition has something to learn from the other. The outcome of a Confucian-Christian dialogue can be a greater awareness of the *different* values for which each tradition stands. It is only in the awareness of the existence of different values that there is a possibility of learning something from each other. If both traditions are seen as the same, then there is nothing to learn from each other. There is a delicate balance to be maintained between preserving moral growth and promoting more active social reform. It is wise, I think, to have these two great traditions, to hold each other in check and maintain this delicate balance.

NOTES

¹ By so doing, we are not including, for purposes of this paper, the philosophy of Hsün Tzu. If we were to do so, it would require a fundamental shift in the paper since Hsün Tzu, while classified as a Confucian, considers human nature to be evil. For a more broader treatment of this issue, Cf., Robert E. Allinson, 'Understanding the Chinese Mind', in Robert E. Allinson (ed.), *Understanding the Chinese Mind*, Oxford University Press (December, 1988).

² I think that this depiction of Christianity is in accord with the popular conception that Christianity is the religion of love.

³ Cf., Raymond Dawson, *Confucius* (Oxford: 1981), p. 47. Filial piety became such a strong value in Chinese culture that it was listed as the first duty in the collections of commandments known as the Six Edicts of the Shun-chih emperor (1644-1661) and the Sacred Edict of the K'ang-hsi emperor (1661-1722). (Dawson, p. 48). Contrast this to the Ten Commandments where it is listed as number five (if these are in a numerical order of importance). We should probably also consider the influence of Mencius who argued against Mo that the implication would be that no peculiar affection would be due to one's father (*Mencius* IIIB. 9).

⁴ Cf., also *The Great Learning*, IX. 1, 4, 5, 7. It is curious to note that the Western counterpart of the filial piety injunction in the Chinese tradition is also formulated as a hypothetical imperative: "Honour thy Father and thy Mother that thy Days may be long upon the earth." Consider the

parallel to the Chinese concept that when the state is in order, there is in turn peace in the world. Cf., Tu Wei-ming, *Confucian Thought, Selfhood as Creative Transformation* (Albany: 1985) p. 134. His reference is to *The Great Learning*, Ch. 1. The Chinese concept more clearly explains the connection between filial piety and longevity!

⁵ D. C. Lau translates as 'character' what Wing-tsit Chan keeps as *jen* (仁). Cf., *The Analects* (New York: 1979), and Wing-tsit Chan, 'The Evolution of the Confucian Concept *Jen*,' *Philosophy East & West*, Vol. IV, No. 4, January, 1955, p. 301. Henry Nelson Wieman, used to say in class that marriage was the ultimate challenge in one's life.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

⁷ It is interesting to reflect that this problem has not arisen for Western thinkers despite the fact that there is a tradition of filial piety and a tradition of universal love. It could be argued that this is because the tradition of filial piety was never quite as strong in the West but this would only account for the problem arising in a smaller degree not for the problem being non-existent.

⁸ Cf., *Reflections on Things at Hand, The Neo-Confucian Anthology*. Compiled by Chu Hsi and Lu Tzu-ch'ien, translated by Wing-tsit Chan (New York: 1967), p. 77.

⁹ *Analects*, XV. 24. This passage is of special interest because Confucius chooses *shu* when he is asked for a single word and not even *jen*. Perhaps this is because *shu* is the procedural rule whereby we can become *jen* and thus, of the two notions, is the one we would need the most. It is important to note that here the words are attributed to Confucius himself. Cf., also *Chung Yung*, 13.3. While there is no foundation for the following analysis, if we choose to engage in a philosophical interpolation of the roots of language à la Heidegger vis-à-vis his analysis of Greek philosophy or Derrida's treatment of language in general, we can derive the following analysis of the character *shu*.

With *shu* (恕), we find the character for woman on the left-hand side of the character for mouth, both of which are above the character for heart-mind. In point of view of strict etymology, the woman-mouth character is simply for pronunciation purposes and carries no meaning. [*Shuo-wen-chieh-tzu chu*, (說文解字注), Shanghai, Ku-chi ch'u-tan-she, p. 504.] But to indulge in some philosophical interpretation for a moment, we may derive the following. The feminine principle is properly placed on the left and receptive side. The notion of reciprocity is indicated by the free passageway, both incoming and outgoing, from the interpolated character for entrance/exit. However, the feminine principle as receptive fixes this as essentially incoming, not outgoing. In other words, the form of reciprocity that is indicated is a passive reciprocity. The feminine principle stands for the negative or the Yin. Just as the feminine is used to describe Yin, we may use Yin to describe the feminine. The notion becomes that of a non-doing reciprocity, a not doing unto others. The heart/mind fixes the content of the type of not-doing as the not-doing of that which is counter to one's heart, or against what one thinks or feels is good for oneself. Thus, a philosophical philology of *shu* reveals that *shu*, in and of itself, carries the meaning of the negative formulation of the Golden Rule: 'Do not do unto others what you would not have them do unto you.' While all of this analysis can find no support from the standpoint of traditional etymology, on the other hand, we can always consider the possibility of an unconscious awareness of the meaning structure contained within the choice of an otherwise arbitrary pronunciation symbol. It does not follow from this that every pronunciation device in every instance carries within it an unconsciously chosen meaning structure, but it equally does not follow that no pronunciation symbol in any instance carries with it no intentional structure whatsoever.

¹⁰ Here, *shu* is used virtually interchangeably with *jen* as a complete definition of *jen*. Once again, the words are attributed to Confucius himself. *Analects* XII. 2. It is also of interest to note that

the author of *shuo-wen-chieh-tzu chu*, (說文解字注), (Shü-shen) defines the meaning of *shu* (恕) by referring to *jen* (仁), p. 504.

- 11 For example, Shu-hsien Liu writes, "... all evidence points to the fact that it (*jen*) has been regarded as The Virtue in Confucius' system of thought." And, again, "From this evidence it seems that the principle of *jen* is Confucius' ultimate commitment." 'Confucius', in Bishop, *Chinese Thought* (Delhi: 1985), pp. 16-17. I will thus except from this discussion the arguable centrality of *li* (禮).
- 12 *Analects*, IV. 15.
- 13 There have been numerous discussions of the place of *chung* by both Chinese and Western writers alike. Cf., Herbert Fingarette, "Following the 'One Thread' of the *Analects*," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 47, No. 35, Thematic Issue S, (Sept. 1979), pp. 373-405 in which *chung* is seen as interpersonal good faith and loyalty. For Fung Yu-lan, *chung* involves extending oneself to include one's fellow men. Cf., Fung Yu-lan, *The Spirit of Chinese Philosophy* (London: 1947), p. 17. Fung distinguishes *chung* and *shu* as representing the "positive" and the "negative" aspects of reversibility. *Chung* describes those things I should do to others because I would like to have them done to me; *shu* describes those things I should not do to others because I would not like them done to me. Cf. Fung Yu-lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, Derk Bodde, trans., (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1953), pp. 43-4. While these, like other discussions, seem very creative, they seem to miss one central point. In Fung's case in particular, there would be a blurring of the specifically negative formulation of the Golden Rule.
- 14 *Analects*, VI. 30. Cf., D. C. Lau's thorough discussion in his introduction to *The Analects* (New York: 1979), pp. 15-16.
- 15 D. C. Lau is emphatic about this being the appropriate meaning as he states, "... that is no doubt at all that *chung* means 'doing one's best'." *Ibid.*, p. 16. It is clear that 'doing one's best' is a value for Confucius. But is there a strong enough case to be made for it as one of Confucius' central values?
- 16 *Analects*, V. 19. Again, this is in the words of Confucius. Whereas, *shu* is sometimes offered as an equivalent of *jen* directly (XII. 2) and indirectly (XV. 24), *chung* by itself is not considered sufficient to be *jen*.
- 17 Matthew 22: 35-40.
- 18 Luke 6: 31.
- 19 Wing-tsit Chan, 'The Evolution of the Confucian Concept *Jen*', (f. 5), p. 300. Cf. also H. G. Creel, Confucius, *The Man & the Myth*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., London, 1951, p. 142. Creel, *Confucius and the Chinese Way*, Harper & Row, New York, 1960, pp. 131-2.
- 20 Shü-hsien Liu, 'Confucius', Bishop, *Chinese Thought*, p. 20. Cf. my review, *Journal of Oriental Studies* 23 (1988), forthcoming.
- 21 Robert E. Allinson, 'The Confucian Golden Rule: A Negative Formulation,' *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 12 (1985), pp. 305-315.
- 22 *Ibid.*, above for a more detailed treatment of the topic.
- 23 It could perhaps be argued the other way around. The negative formulation could have the effect of engendering the attitudes of epistemological modesty and ethical humility. However, even though this may very well be true, we have no way of knowing if such attitudes might also have existed prior to the formulation. This is something like the controversy of which came first, the chicken or the egg. What is important is that it is the same mentality that would formulate the Golden Rule negatively as would be epistemologically modest and ethically humble.

- ²⁴ Wing-tsit Chan, 'The Evolution of the Confucian Concept *Jen*,' p. 299.
- ²⁵ Tu Wei-ming, *Centrality and Commorality, An Essay on Chung-Yang*, The University Press of Hawaii, 1976, p. 49.
- ²⁶ *Analects*, II. 4; VII. 2, 20, 21; XIX. 22. To show how highly he thought of himself in this regard, Confucius said, 'In a hamlet of ten households, there are bound to be those who are my equal in doing their best for others and in being trustworthy in what they say, but they are unlikely to be as eager to learn as I am.' *Analects*, V. 28.
- ²⁷ Chan, p. 303.
- ²⁸ Cf. *Analects*, VI. 22; XII. 22.
- ²⁹ There is a possible relationship here to the concept of salvation and sin as well. The saved (and knowledgeable one) would then be in a privileged vis-à-vis the sinner. This is unlike the Confucian man of *jen* (仁) who, believing in the perfectibility of human nature, for Tu Wei-ming, "... never pontificates." Tu Wei-ming, *Centralist and Commonality, An Essay on Chung-yung* (Honolulu: 1976) p. 49.
- ³⁰ Tu Wei-ming, *Centrality and Commorality, An Essay on Chung Yang*, p. 48.
- ³¹ Shu-hsien Liu, 'On the Confucian Ideal of "Sageliness Within and Kingliness Without",' International Symposium on Confucianism and the Modern World, Taipei, November, 1987, p. 20.
- ³² *Analects*, XVII. 2.
- ³³ I arrive at this conclusion by the following process of reasoning. Of the four kinds of men (*Analects*, XVI. 9; *Chung Yung*, XX. 9) Confucius must have considered himself to be one who was not born wise but gained knowledge through study. The master said, 'I was not born with knowledge but, being fond of antiquity, I am quick to seek it'. VII. 20; Cf. also, VII. 28. For those who were born wise, there would be no need to have recourse to a procedural rule as to how to become *jen*. Since Confucius did not consider himself to be one who was born wise, he would utilize the Golden Rule.
- ³⁴ It may be objected that the idea of altruism or benevolence is already a part of Confucianism. For example, in XII. 22, Confucius says of *jen*, 'Love your fellow men.' But this is not necessarily meant as a command. If love is essentially man's nature, Confucius could have said, 'Act in accordance with your original nature.' For example, in VII. 30, it is said, 'No sooner than I desire it (*jen*), it is there.' That which can be brought into being by desire need not be commanded. In any case, there is no clear specification that to love one's fellow men would mean to actively intervene for them in terms of what you considered to be good for them. It might mean the avoidance of actions that would bring harm to them. In many cases, this would include actively helping one's fellow men. But the crucial point is that this would follow from one's own humanity and not from a commandment. It is only if one's own nature is hidden from one (or in Confucius' words, removed by practise) that the affirmative formulation of the Golden Rule might prove to be a catalyst to action that otherwise might not be taken.

Aśoka, the *Cakravartin*, and His Dharma

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(石田法雄)

INTRODUCTION

King Aśoka, the last major emperor in the Mauryan dynasty of India (reigned c. 269-232 B.C.),¹ was one of the most significant devotees of Buddhism. His dominions extended over Afghanistan and the entire Indian subcontinent except some southern territories. He was instrumental in propagating the Buddhist dharma most notably through the Rock Edicts he had engraved on rocks and pillars throughout his empire.²

He conquered Kalinga (modern Orissa) on the east coast after a very bloody war in the eighth year of his reign; however, the terrible sufferings the war inflicted on the defeated people moved him to such great remorse that he renounced armed conquests forever.³ It was at this time that he came in touch with Buddhism and adopted it. Under its influence and prompted by his own dynamic temperament, Aśoka resolved to live, preach and serve all humanity according to the dharma. He declared his nonaggressive intentions to his neighbors and tried to "conquer" his empire by the dharma. His new policy, "conquest by the dharma," is called the *dharma-vijaya*.⁴ Thus, the dharma, his faith, became the method that he used for governing his empire. This

essay will examine the role of Aśoka's dharma for an understanding of lay Buddhism and the notion of *cakravartin* (the "universal monarch") as applied to Aśoka's kingship.

I

When we read the inscriptions engraved on rocks and pillars in order to understand his dharma, we have to bear in mind that Aśoka was not a *bhikṣu* or a monk but an *upāsaka* or a lay devotee, for what the Buddha preached to *upāsaka* was not exactly the same as that for *bhikṣu*. After attainment of his enlightenment, Śākyamuni Buddha formed the Buddhist community called the sangha. Any person of any race, caste or sex was able to join it and become a disciple of the Buddha. The Buddha, in accord with the need and convenience of his followers, established the sangha consisting of the monastic and lay groups. The former was made up of only *bhikṣu* and *bhikṣunī* (nuns) who cut off entirely their social positions and worldly desires. The latter consisted of lay people who remained in society fulfilling their responsibilities in their respective classes or states.

The ideal of *bhikṣu* was to transcend their relative karmic deeds by thoroughly

detaching themselves from the secular world in order to attain *nirvāna*, their goal. On the other hand, the Buddha taught lay people the goal of *svarga* or heaven to be attained for the time being by accumulating good karma. In both, the Buddha meant to lead both *bhikṣu* and *upāsaka* to the final goal of *nirvāna* at the end.⁵

After committing himself to Buddhism as an *upāsaka*,⁶ Aśoka practiced good deeds himself and encouraged others to do likewise:

Dharma is good. But what does Dharma consist of? It consists of few sins and many good deeds, of kindness, liberality, truthfulness, and purity. I have bestowed even the gift of sight [i.e., spiritual insight] on men in various ways. I have decreed many kindnesses, including even the grant of life, to living creatures, two-footed and four-footed as well as birds and aquatic animals. I have also performed many other good deeds.⁷

Aśoka's dharma was practical as was the character of lay Buddhism. His virtuous qualities of good deeds were: *dayā* (sympathy), *dāha* (gifts), *satya* (truthfulness), *saucam* (purity of mind and body), *mārdavam* (kindliness), *sādhutā* (goodness), *apavyayatā* and *apabhandata* (economy in expenditure and in saving), *samyama* (restraint of the senses), *bhāvaśuddhi* (honesty of purpose), *kr̥tajñatā* (gratefulness), *gr̥dhābahktitā* (abiding loyalty), *dharma-rati* (delight in the dharma), *dharma-kāmatā* (a desire to act righteously), *parikṣā* (confidence on one's own self), *śusr̥ṣā* (dutifulness), *bhaya* (fear of wrong action) and *utsāha* (enthusiasm).⁸

Among many good deeds that Aśoka preached, the most revolutionary one was the "abstention from slaughter

of living beings" (*prāṇānām anārambha*), since the command had to restrain Brahmans from sacrificing living beings in their important rituals. This order would have caused a great conflict between Aśoka and the Brahmans. We should note that this ordinance, the abstention from slaughter, was also one of the five precepts laid down for *upāsaka* to practice. He brought this up often in his edicts:

It is good not to kill living beings.
(the Rock Edict III)

In the past, the killing and injuring of living beings.... Through his (Aśoka's) instruction in Dharma abstention from killing and non-injury to living beings.... (R.E. IV)

Abstention from killing living beings.
... (R. E. XI)

I have proclaimed through legislation for instance that certain species of animals are not to be killed. (the Pillar Edict VII)⁹

In addition to these edicts, Aśoka also commanded the "restraint of violence towards living beings" and "non-injury to living beings" respectively on the Rock Edicts IV and IX and the Pillar Edict VII.

By accumulating good deeds through the gift of dharma, Aśoka wanted to, and wanted others to, attain happiness in this world and in the next:

There is no gift that can equal the gift of Dharma, the establishment of human relations on Dharma, the distribution of wealth through Dharma, or kinship in Dharma.... Father, son, brother, master, friend, acquaintance or even neighbor ought to say, "This has merit. This ought to be done." If one acts in this way, one

achieves by the gift of Dharma happiness in this world and infinite merit in the world to come.¹⁰

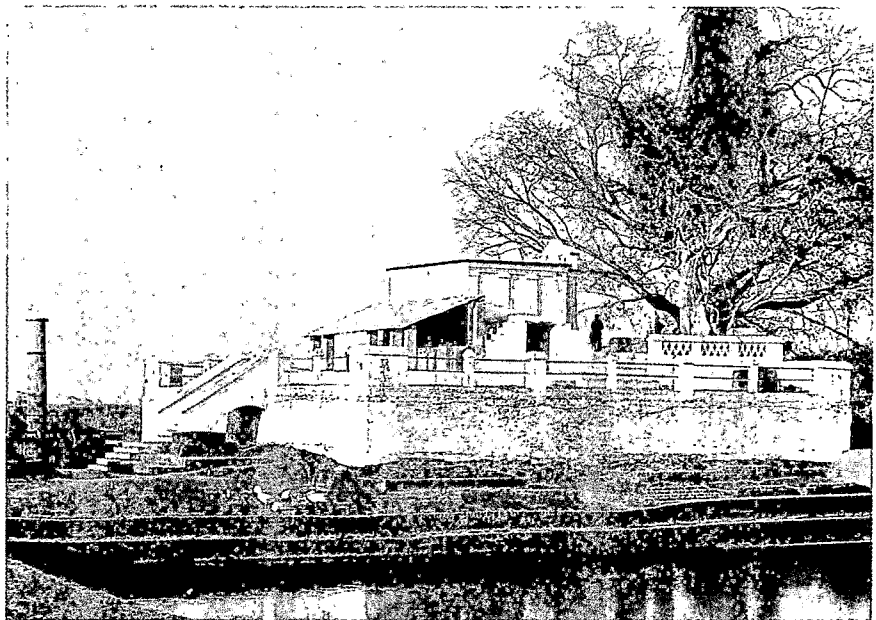
Although Aśoka saw that "it is difficult to achieve happiness, either in this world or in the next,"¹¹ one could achieve it by intense love of the dharma, intense self-examination, intense obedience, intense fear of sin and intense enthusiasm.¹²

Aśoka believed that doing good deeds would lead man to happiness; however, he was aware of the fact that one was not always able to achieve happiness in this world even though one accumulated good deeds, because of the nature of this discriminatory world. Therefore, though Aśoka took this world seriously, he was convinced that the final goal was to attain happiness in *svarga*, the next world. We can see this belief clearly again in the Rock Edict IX:

Even if it (Dharma) does not achieve its object in this world, it produces unlimited merit in the next world. But if it produces its object in this world, it achieves both effects: the purpose derived in this world and unlimited merit in the next. It has also been said that liberality is commendable. But there is not greater liberality than the gift of Dharma or the benefit of Dharma. Therefore, a friend, well-wisher, relative or companion should urge one when the occasion arises, saying, "You should do this; this is commendable. By doing this you may attain heaven." And what is more worth doing than attaining heaven?¹³

Aśoka was here saying that the true goal of human life was to attain *svarga* as a result of accumulating good deeds, which is Buddhism for *upāsaka* at that time. Gokhale, regarding Aśoka's lay Buddhism, states that "the type of heaven Aśoka mentions is the one described in the sacred books of the

At Nepal's Lumbini, birthplace of Lord Buddha, one sees an Aśokan Pillar (far left), as pictured here near the Maya Devi Temple by the Rev. Myōkō Hayashi of Japan, a friend of Hōyu Ishida's.



Buddhists and which was placed before the lay devotees as an ideal to be realized."¹⁴

Realizing also Aśoka's self-determined mission of propagating the dharma, Gokhale says that Aśoka "was not only a Buddhist, but also a missionary of first importance for the types of actions he had undertaken show in a significant way his religious zeal and proselytizing fervor."¹⁵ Aśoka was neither a mere *upāsaka* nor a mere king but the mandatory or messenger of the dharma under the title of the "Buddhist Emperor."¹⁶ From his inscriptions, we have seen that Aśoka was very enthusiastic about the propagation of dharma; and during his reign "Buddhism spread from a small sect with insignificant dimensions into a powerful and organized religion under royal patronage."¹⁷ In this sense, Aśoka played a very important role in "turning the wheel of dharma" in the Buddha's place. This role reminds us of the Indian traditional ideal of a "universal monarch" of *cakravartin*. We will hence continue to see Aśoka and his dharma in relation to the ideal of the *cakravartin*.

II

In traditional Indian thought, the *cakravartin* is the ancient conception of the world ruler. According to Heinrich Zimmer, its conception goes back even to pre-Vedic or pre-Āryan tradition in India of the third and fourth millenniums B.C.¹⁸ The term *cakra* means a "wheel" and *vartin* means "abiding or residing in." Therefore, the *cakravartin* can be interpreted as a king or emperor whose wide rulership is the result of abiding in the wheel of dharma, a sovereign whose chariot wheels

roll everywhere, or as a righteous king whose dominions extend to the circumference of the world. He conducts his army to the farthest horizon and is the great man, the superman (*mahā-puruṣa*), among kings; and he is preceded on his march by a luminous apparition in the firmament in the form of a wheel (*cakra*) — a duplication of the neolithic symbol of the sun-wheel. . . .¹⁹

In Buddhism, the *cakravartin* (the "universal monarch": "he who turns the wheel") is seen as the secular counterpart of the Buddha who sets in motion the *dharma-cakra* for spiritual enlightenment. It is through the dharma alone that the *cakravartin* obtains and holds his dominions. Therefore, the Buddha (the "Enlightened One") and the *cakravartin* in principle have the same mission of propagating the dharma except they are on two different planes. Heinrich Zimmer makes clear a distinction between the two by first defining the universal role of the Buddha:

Like the *Cakravartin*, the Buddha is the master, not of a national or otherwise limited communion, but of the world. His wheel, the Buddhist dharma, is not (for) the Brahmins (alone), but is for the whole universe; a doctrine of release intended to bring peace to all living beings without exception.²⁰

Zimmer, then, gives the difference between the Buddha and *cakravartin*: the former is on the spiritual or sacred plane and the latter is on the secular plane.²¹

We can find this notion of *cakravartin* in contrast to the Buddha, World Renouncer, in the birth story of Siddhartha. In the story, before the Prince came into existence, Queen Māyā dreamed that a great white elephant

with a lotus flower in his trunk approached her and entered her side. Next day, the dream was interpreted for her by wise men that she had conceived a wonderful son, who would be either a Universal King (*cakravartin*) or a Universal Teacher (World Renouncer). The introduction to Jātaka thus goes that:

If a man possessing such marks and characteristics continues in the household life, he becomes a Universal Monarch; if he retires from the world, he becomes a Buddha.²²

The new-born Prince, of course, chose to become the World Renouncer as he grew up; however, the notion of *cakravartin* here is seen to be very important in terms of "turning the wheel of dharma" in the secular world, while the Buddha was to turn the sacred or spiritual wheel of dharma, though the Buddha did not mean to negate this world.

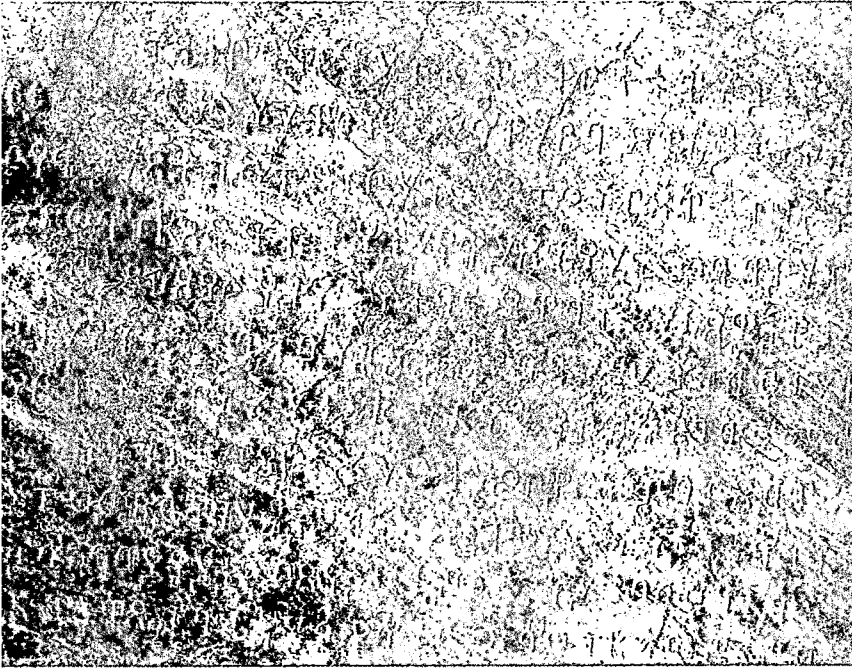
In light of the ideal of the *cakravartin* in Buddhist tradition, let us now return to the discussion of Aśoka and his dharma and apply the notion of *cakravartin* to Aśoka's kingship. In order to propagate the dharma to all the people in the world (or at least on the Indian subcontinent), Aśoka adopted a policy of respect for all religious sects and guaranteed them full freedom to live according to their own principles:

I have ordered some of them to look after the affairs of the sangha [the Buddhist religious orders], some to take care of the Brahmin and Ajīvika ascetics, some to work among the Nirgranthas [the Jaina monks], and some among the various other religious sects. Different officials are thus assigned specifically to the affairs of

different religions. My officials responsible for spreading Dharma are thus occupied with all sects.²³

Since Aśoka was aware of the fact that "there is no place where men are not attached to one faith or another,"²⁴ he had to respect all the faiths in keeping the social order, which was the primal duty and concern of any considerate king, especially in India that was religiously and socially complex. He, then, urged people of all sects to exert themselves for the increase of their inner worthiness through their dharma. Aśoka's respect for all the sects means that he was fulfilling his duty and role as the king of all the people at his best.

Aśoka, while he was tolerant of all religions and intended to spread the dharma through his tolerance, often visited the monastic sangha and became energetic in his efforts to propagate the dharma.²⁵ However, at that time, two hundred years after the death (*mahāparinirvāṇa*) of the Buddha, the monastic sangha was in a crisis of schism because of different interpretations of the Buddha's teachings. As a result, those who tried to keep the sangha purely monastic based only on the *vinaya* (discipline) were apt to be isolated from the rest of the sangha and the world. Therefore, Aśoka, wanting to put the whole sangha under his control, tried to protect it and took strong measures to suppress the schism within the monastic sangha. He declared that he had faith in the Three Treasures: "the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha."²⁶ He visited many Buddhist sacred places and built a number of *stūpa*, monasteries and pillars. It is also said that a third council was called by him at Pāṭaliputra (Patna). Thus, he became a patron of



A great builder, Aśoka is believed to have inspired the building of more than 8,400 temples. Huge sandstone pillars carrying his message of dharma were erected in all parts of his realms. This photo, by the Rev. Myōkō Hayashi of Japan, shows part of the Rock Edict at Dhauḷi, Orissa. In the original photo in color, one sees the rock covered with moss.

Buddhism and practiced the dharma, which was to relate to all the people of his empire.

To practice the dharma in terms of turning its wheel in the secular world, Aśoka went on periodical tours preaching the dharma earnestly to the rural people and relieving their sufferings:

He visits the people of rural areas, instructing them in Dharma and discussing it with them. King Priyadarśi takes great pleasure in these tours, far more than could result from other tours.²⁷

Moreover, I have honored all religious sects with various offerings. But I consider it my principal duty to visit [the people] personally.²⁸

He, then, ordered high officials to do the same in addition to attending to their normal duties.²⁹ A special class of high officers, designated "dharma ministers," was appointed to foster the dharma work by the public, to relieve

sufferings wherever found, and to look to the special needs of people.³⁰ It was ordered that matters concerning public welfare were to be reported to him at all times.³¹

Among his works of public utility were the founding of hospitals for men and animals and the supply of medicines,³² the planting of roadside trees and groves, digging of wells, and constructing of watering sheds and resthouses.³³ Through the public contributions and care of all the people and animals, Aśoka believed that he was practicing the dharma and commanded others to follow him. Here, we are able to see that in such a spirit of Aśoka's policy the dharma was really turning in the secular world.

Aśoka called all the people his children, since he was very concerned about people and could not help but feel that they were as close to him as his own children:

All men are my children. Just as I seek the welfare and happiness of my own children in this world and the next, I seek the same things for all men.³⁴

Aśoka sought their happiness or well-being, which he believed was able to be achieved through the dharma. He says: "No task is more important to me than promoting the well-being of all the people."³⁵ He, then, continued that "such work as I accomplish contributes to discharging the debt I owe to all living creatures to make them happy in this world and to help them to attain heaven in the next."³⁶ Here, we can assume that Aśoka was attributing his own interest in the dharma especially to repentance for the violence and cruelty of the Kalinga war. As a result of his deep remorse or penitence, Aśoka strongly sensed that he had to spread the dharma for making people happy; in other words, Aśoka chose to become the world ruler by the dharma instead of becoming a world renouncer. Gokhale says that "Aśoka did not favor renunciation and was preaching the religion of the Buddha as applied to the house-

holder's life."³⁷ Thus, as we have seen Aśoka not only as an *upāsaka* but also as the king who turned the wheel of *dharma* in the secular world, he deserves to be called the "universal monarch" (*cakravartin*) in Buddhist tradition.

Aśoka's teachings through the dharma can be relevant in a certain sense to the world today. The contemporary world is also full of problems such as tensions and fears among social classes, religious sects and various nations as Aśoka himself faced in his time. In order to settle such problems and bring happiness and well-being to people, Aśoka sought to establish the community of all mankind on the dharma. He did not have prejudice against any class or religion but respected them all under the name of the dharma. Aśoka's dharma in this respect has a universality, though Buddhistic in this particular case, which transcends national, cultural, and class limits. Yet this kind of understanding and sympathy for others among all the people of the world was what Aśoka was seeking and is what we may need today especially in this world of the nuclear age full of serious tensions, fears, and crises.

NOTES

¹ The date of Aśoka's reign is taken from A. L. Basham in *The Wonder That Was India* (1954; rpt. New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1977), p. XIX.

² Aśoka's inscriptions are:

- *Major Rock Edicts*: Fourteen edicts and the two separate edicts found at sites in Kalinga.
- *Minor Rock Inscriptions*: The Minor Rock Edict, the Queen's Edict, the Barābar Cave Inscriptions, and the Kandahar Bilingual Inscriptions. And the Bhabra Inscription, the Rummindei Pillar Inscription, the Nigalisāgar Pillar Inscription, and the Schism Edict.
- *The Pillar Edicts*: Seven Pillar Edicts.

See "A Translation of the Edicts of Aśoka" by Romila Thapar in *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 250-266.

³ The Rock Edict XIII. For this article, I mainly refer to translations by N. A. Nikam and Richard McKeon in *The Edicts of Aśoka* (1959; rpt. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966),

pp. 27-30.

- ⁴ The Rock Edict XIII. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
- ⁵ On the topic of the character of Aśoka's faith — whether his dharma is Brahmanic or Buddhist — many arguments have been presented. For example, V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar makes a Brahmanic judgement on Aśoka's dharma. What he tries to prove is that Aśoka's dharma is not derived from Buddhism but from Brahmanic Hinduism. He seems to be saying that all Buddhists have to participate in the monastic life; in other words, Buddhism is only *bhikṣu*-oriented. On Aśoka's non-Buddhist faith, he says, "Aśoka makes no mention whatsoever of the Buddhist notion of *nirvāṇa* and *nirvāṇic* annihilation which is the fundamental characteristic of the Buddhist faith." See his *Mauryan Policy* (Mylapore: The Madras Law Press, 1932), p. 289.
B. G. Gokhale, on the other hand, argues Aśoka's Buddhist faith as that of an *upāsaka* against Dikshitar. See his *Buddhism and Aśoka* (Baroda: Padmaja Publications, 1948), pp. 65-71. As Gokhale also points out, Aśoka, as an *upāsaka*, would not have to mention *nirvāṇa* but only relate karmic deeds to the attainment of *svarga*.
- ⁶ The Maskī Rock Edict. Nikam, *Op. cit.*, p. 66.
- ⁷ The Pillar Edict II. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
- ⁸ Dikshitar, *Op. cit.*, pp. 250-252.
- ⁹ Translations here by Romila Thapar, *Op. cit.*, pp. 250-266.
- ¹⁰ The Rock Edict XI. Nikam, *Op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.
- ¹¹ The Pillar Edict I. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
- ¹² The Pillar Edict I. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
- ¹³ The Rock Edict IX. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
- ¹⁴ Gokhale, *Op. cit.*, p. 69.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 89.
- ¹⁶ A. L. Basham, for example, titles Aśoka the "Buddhist Emperor." See "Society and the State in Theravada Buddhism" in *Sources of Indian Tradition*, Vol. I, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 142.
- ¹⁷ Gokhale, *Op. cit.*, p. 71.
- ¹⁸ Zimmer, *Philosophies of India* (New York: Pantheon Book Inc., 1953), p. 129 and p. 134.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-129.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 130.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 130.
- ²² Henry Clarke Warren, *Buddhism in Translation* (1896; rpt. New York: Atheneum, 1976), p. 52.
- ²³ The Pillar Edict VII. Nikam, *Op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.
- ²⁴ The Rock Edict XIII. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- ²⁵ The Maskī Rock Edict. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
- ²⁶ The Bhabra Rock Edict. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
- ²⁷ The Rock Edict VIII. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
- ²⁸ The Pillar Edict VI. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
- ²⁹ The Rock Edict V. and the Pillar Edict VII. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59 and pp. 33-35.
- ³⁰ The Pillar Edict VII. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
- ³¹ The Rock Edict VI. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
- ³² The Rock Edict II. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
- ³³ The Pillar Edict VII. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
- ³⁴ The Kaligā Edict II. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

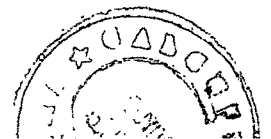
³⁵ The Rock Edict VI. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

³⁶ The Rock Edict VI. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

³⁷ Gokhale, *Op. cit.*, p. 68.

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Ghosts as Fools and Carnival: Hwang Mei-shu's *The Comedy of Yang Shih-jen*

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(黃逸民)

I. INTRODUCTION

In Professor Hwang Mei-shu's 黃美序 *The Comedy of Yang Shih-jen* (*Yang Shih-jen te hsi-chü* 楊世人的喜劇),¹ a parody of *Everyman*, ghosts including the three soul-catchers (*chü-hun wu-ch'ang* 拘魂無常), referred to as Ghosts in this article, and the other various ghosts which these three soul-catchers catch, play an important role as comic figures and satirists. Unlike Death in *Everyman*, which is nothing but an irrevocable agent sent by God to summon Everyman to hell, ghosts in Hwang's *Comedy* serve a very interesting and lively function as not only scheming intriguers but also satirical commentators. I find this role has since the medieval age usually been played by the fools or clowns in Western theater. Therefore, one aim of this paper is to describe and analyze the rather unique and interesting function of ghosts in Hwang's *Comedy* within the fool tradition from the medieval morality play down to William Shakespeare. Directly related to this is that the ghosts as fools form a world of carnivalized fools characteristic of Menippean satire defined by Mikhail

Bakhtin. Therefore, the second aim of this study is to discuss the ghosts as fools from this carnivalized perspective as well.

II. GHOSTS WITHIN THE FOOL TRADITION

According to Robert Goldsmith, the prototype of the fool in Shakespeare is a combination of the medieval minstrel and *joculator*, who roamed Europe after the breakup of the Empire and the collapse of the Roman stage.² Like the minstrel, he was often a ballad singer, dancer, and tumbler.³ And like the *joculator*, whom he more closely resembled, he was frequently a fleering and obscene jester or parodist.⁴ So we can see that the fool of Western tradition serves not only to offer entertainment or invoke laughter, but also to criticize or satirize. The license of the fool to speak freely and criticize his master comes from the people's mixed attitude of contempt and pity which takes the fools as "innocents."⁵ As they are looked upon as "fools," they are not held accountable for their satire or criticism.

In his *The Praise of Folly*, Erasmus fills in the features of the wise, ironical fool.⁶ Goldsmith further points out that the fool of tradition emerges in the character of the comic Vice of the Tudor moral play.⁷ And more importantly, the mocking humor of the Vice, an embodiment of one of the Seven Deadly Sins, establishes him as a forerunner of the Elizabethan stage fool, cumulating in Shakespearean plays.⁸ Therefore, the fool of Western tradition contains the following characteristics: 1) He often employs "verbal farce"⁹ as a sort of word-play like malapropism, comic stichomythia, innuendo, punning, even doggerels, to invoke laughter, to build up the comic or satirical atmosphere of the whole play. 2) He usually serves the function as a satirical commentator. Keeping himself at a proper distance from the main plot of the play, the fool can see more clearly or more objectively than any other character of the play. This advantage can let him serve as a witty critic. On the other hand, the fool can act as a sort of personification of human folly to expose such folly in other characters. 3) Though remaining relatively detached, the fool, like Vice, can sometimes act as a wit-intriguer. Besides his biting satire or comic wit, the human warmth and fellow feeling that characterizes Shakespeare's fools¹⁰ are worthy of our notice.

In Goldsmith's careful study, fools are divided into several different categories like natural fools or idiots, clowns, wise fools and satirists. He argues that there is a difference between fools and clowns.¹¹ But in Oscar Campbell's *Shakespeare's Satire*, the clowns he describes contain almost all of the three major characteristics of the fool I just mentioned above.¹² So I will use "fool"

in a broader sense, covering clowns, idiots, wise fools and satirists because all of them can find counterparts in the various ghosts in Hwang's *Comedy*. And first of all I will discuss the ghosts in Hwang's play according to the three major characteristics that we find in the fool of Western tradition.

A. Verbal Farce

In contrast to Death in *Everyman* or ghosts in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and *Hamlet*, which serve as nothing but a warning or an omen for the characters in the play, one of the major functions of ghosts in Hwang's *Comedy* is to provide entertainment, to offer amusement, or to invoke laughter. In other words, they serve as comic figures like the fools or clowns in Shakespearean plays. Throughout Hwang's play, we can find many examples in which the ghosts use "verbal farce," a sort of word-play like comic stichomythia, puns or doggerels to cause laughter, providing a comical or ironical substratum to this play. At the same time, folly or absurdity is exposed and ridiculed through the laughter. Here, I would like to describe and analyze some of the examples in which verbal farce is used by the ghosts.

At the beginning of the play when God (appearing as Voice) summons the three Ghosts to catch all the men on earth to be examined by himself, their first appearance sets the comic tone of the play. Instead of being frightened of them as ghosts, we are rather struck by their very amusing and silly way of presenting themselves:

Ghost I: (Speaking in four-character sentences) Sickness, misery, old

age and death. It has always been. It is still now. The Ghost of Disease reports to my Lord.

Ghost II: (Stammering) Heaven — heaven, disaster; man — man, misfortune; every — everyday, in — increasing. I am — I am Ghost of Accidents reporting to my Lord.

Ghost III: (In a jokingly repetitious tone) People die from smoking, people die from drinking, people die quickly from taking drugs. All these cases of folly ghosts are mine. The Ghost of Folly reports to my Lord.¹³

無常一：（說話時以四字句為主，以後同）
病苦老死，古今皆同。病苦拘魂
無常報到。

無常二：（以口吃為主）天天災、人人禍、
日日興隆。屬屬下意意外拘魂
無常報到。

無常三：（以滑稽的押韻重複字為主）烟
燻死、酒醉死、速賜康下快速死、
荒唐死鬼全歸我一我荒唐拘魂無
常報到。

Such a silly way of wording and presentation in their introduction renders them as nothing to be afraid of, but as something amusing, something human, something close to us.

In another very interesting stichomythia, satirical punning is employed to criticize the vice of the jungle theory in modern society. The style is amusing, light-hearted:

Ghost II: How — how did you die?

Hungry ghost: Of hunger.

Ghost II: You were born with such a big — big mouth. What — what on earth did you think your big — big mouth was for?

Hungry ghost: My mouth was too big, but the food was too little.

Ghost II: Why didn't you eat more — more meat?

Hungry ghost: What meat?

Ghost III: Sweet meat, weak meat, any meat that could help you

put on meat.

Hungry ghost: Weak meat? I am a man and I will not live off a woman.

Ghost III: The weak meat I mean refers to "The strong eat the weak." You've never heard of such meat? No wonder there is no meat on your body. Withdraw! Next! (p. 164)

無常二：你是怎麼死死的？

餓 鬼：餓死的。

無常二：看你生著一張大大嘴巴是幹幹什麼用的！

餓 鬼：嘴巴太大啦，飯太少啦！

無常二：那不會多吃些肉肉呀！

餓 鬼：什麼肉呀？

無常三：香肉、弱肉，什麼肉吃下去都會長肉啊。

餓 鬼：弱肉？堂堂男子漢我可不是吃軟飯的。

無常三：我是說「弱肉強食」的弱肉。這個肉都不知道，難怪你的身上會沒有一點肉。到一邊去。下一個。

Here, we are amused by the pun on 弱肉 (*jo-jou*)/ 弱肉強食 (*jo-jou ch'iang-shih*). Like 香肉 (*hsiang-jou*) which can refer to a real thing like dog meat but also to an abstract idea, 弱肉 (*jo-jou*) can mean lean meat or red meat (瘦肉 *shou-jou*) as well as an abstract idea in the common Chinese phrase 弱肉強食 (*jo-jou ch'iang-shih*, meaning the weak are just like meat eaten by the strong). Undoubtedly, the double meaning of *jo-jou* here creates a comic effect. When it is used to signify the phrase *jo-jou ch'iang-shih*, satire is added to the comic effect. Another part of the irony is that this ghost who died of starvation has a big mouth. When asked why he did not use his big mouth to eat more meat, the hungry ghost retorts: "What meat?" He could not even eat more rice (*fan* 飯), not to mention that meat is considered more expensive than rice. When asked to

eat "weak meat," he mistakes it for a woman, thinking seriously that it is an insult to him. But what Ghost III means is that he should be like the strong, eating the weak like meat in order to survive in modern society. Not knowing the "weak meat" theory he was eliminated naturally.

Another interesting example in which the Ghosts use a skillful technique of punning to arouse laughter and at the same time satirize through laughter is when the Ghosts are checking on how an idiot dwarf ghost died:

Ghost III: ... But, I do know he died of swallowing bubble liquid.

Ghost I: Bubble liquid?

Ghost III: Right, for blowing bubbles.

When he saw a lot of people blowing bubbles, he thought of changing himself into something like a soap bubble to fly up, and up. But, to fly up, a bubble has to be blown up into a big bubble. But, not knowing how to "blow himself up," he could not but swallow the "bitter water." So...

Ghost II: So, he died of swallowing bitter - bitter - bitterness. Ri - di - culous! (p. 169)

無常三：...不過，我知道他是喝吹泡泡的肥皂水死的。

無常一：肥皂泡水？

無常三：正是吹泡水。他看到許多人吹肥皂泡泡，他也想搖身一變，像肥皂泡泡一樣，飛——昇——。可是泡泡水要吹才成大泡泡。他只會喝「苦水」，不知「自吹」之道，所以——

無常二：所以就苦苦苦死啦！荒——唐。

The bitter satire which mocks gaining promotion by unscrupulous boasting or bragging in this dialogue derives chiefly from the pun on 吹肥皂泡泡 (*ch'ui fei-tsao p'ao-p'ao*, "blowing bubbles") / 自吹 (*tzu-ch'ui*, "boast about oneself,"

or "blow oneself up"). The idiot ghost is, of course, the victim of those who know how to "blow bubbles," but he himself does not know how to "blow himself up." Like the previous example, the pun on a real thing and an abstract idea creates an incongruity which brings about the comic effect of absurdity. On the other hand, as "blowing oneself up" seems to be equated with "blowing bubbles," it can signify that the one who "blows himself up" compares to one who is "blowing bubbles," which are easy to penetrate or see through and therefore expose his exaggeration. In this sense, he is like the idiot ghost blowing bubbles.

The next example is a doggerel used by the ghosts to provide amusement and satire. The doggerel is aimed at arousing the audience to laugh at the rigid, stifling educational system in which students are taught to recite "standard answers" instead of having any independent, critical thinking. When two student ghosts are asked to read out loud the poems they have written, it is amazing that they are exactly the same:

Girl: (Takes a big step forward) The poem reads: "As life is short and brief, why try hard to study geometry? So what if you have studied geometry? So what if you have not studied geometry?" That's all. (Steps back)

Boy: (Takes a big step forward) The poem reads: "As life is short and brief, why try hard to study geometry? So what if you have studied geometry? So what if you have not studied geometry?" That's all. (Steps back) (p. 168)

女生：(走前一大步)詩曰：「人生短促有幾何，何必苦苦學幾何，學得幾

何幾何得，不學幾何又幾何！」完了。（退回）

男生：（走前一大步）詩曰：「人生短短有幾何，何必苦苦學幾何，學得幾何幾何得，不學幾何又幾何。」完了。（退回）

When Ghost I asks why the words and the tone of these two poems are exactly the same, which is also the question of the audience, Ghost III answers that it is because students nowadays are trained with "standardized answers" (p. 168). Such an answer obviously points out the fact which will bring home to us the ridicule and its satire. What strikes us as more satirical and funny is that these two students have not only the same thought but also the same behavior. Their manners of talking and actions are amazingly the same. They are like two robots of the same brand. Here, their individuality is completely eliminated. They are nothing but products mass produced from the same mold, which reveals a poignant criticism of the educational system. More satirical is that Ghost III, who is the Ghost of Folly, will take them as his disciples. We will certainly have a bitter smile when we hear Ghost II congratulate him by saying: "相信他們在你的手手中必能名師出高徒，青出於藍而勝勝於藍。I believe that under your instruction, they will undoubtedly be very outstanding, maybe even better than their master" (p. 168).

B. Ghosts as Satiric Commentators

Another important characteristic of the ghosts which is similar to the fools or clowns in Western theater, especially in Shakespeare's plays, is that the ghosts act as satiric commentators on the folly, vice or fraud prevailing in modern society.

In Act III, the three Ghosts begin to hold a preliminary trial of the ghosts they have caught lest they make any more mistakes in the classifications of these ghosts before they are sent up to God. In the trial, the ghosts act as the farcical impersonation of various vices or follies and the three Ghosts serve as the satiric commentators. By means of little farcically acted out dialogues, the clownish parodies yield trenchant comment on the absurd or evil ways of society. The parodies acted out by the ghosts in Act III become the vehicle of social satire in a comical way. The audience is amused by the farcical burlesques, but they are also stung by the satire contained in the farce. I will present several interesting examples to illustrate this point. For example, in the trial of a ghost who died of illness:

Ghost III: Old man, how did you die?

Sick ghost: Do I have to suffer from purging again after I've died?

Ghost II: This is a pre - preliminary trial by the three of us, not a purge. Come on, tell us, how - how did you die?

Sick ghost: The doctor didn't tell me.

Ghost III: All right. Anyway, whether you died of malpractice or of the treatment of an incurable disease, it is regarded as dying of sickness. Withdraw. (p. 164)

無常三：老東西，你是怎麼歸西的？

病 鬼：死了還要清算啊？

無常二：這是三堂會會審，不叫清算。快說，你是怎麼死死的？

病 鬼：醫生沒有告訴我。

無常三：好，醫死的和醫不活死的一樣都算是病死的。退到一邊去。

That the ghost is afraid to be purged again after death is a poignant satire of the Communist system in Mainland

China. What is more interesting to note is that the ghost did not know how he died because the doctors did not tell him. It shows that the doctor is usually arrogant and aloof and indifferent to his patients. The satirical comment by Ghost III that "it is regarded as dying of sickness, whether you died of malpractice or of the treatment of an incurable disease" is a derisive accusation of the vice of the unethical practice of doctors.

When two ghosts who died of an accident are brought up to trial, one is blind and the other is noseless. The blind ghost who was riding a motorcycle was blinded by the antenna of the car driven by a woman whose nose was smashed flat by the wind-shield when they crashed together. In the farcical trial, the woman insists that the blind ghost owes her compensation, and that her nose should be restored. Ghost III ridicules her by saying: 你怕分不清香水和阿摩尼亞水，那樣摩登？那樣「卡水」？ "Are you afraid that you won't be able to tell which is more modern — perfume or ammonia? Which is more charming?" (p. 165). And the noseless ghost answers:

That's not the problem. I am quite familiar with perfume bottles. I can tell which is which at one glance. But without a nose, I'm afraid that nobody will be able to lead me around by the nose. That would be serious. Your honor! You must give this little woman justice. I'll repay your kindness. (p. 165)

那倒不會，我對香水瓶很熟悉，一看就知道。可是沒有鼻子我是怕以後沒有人肯「牽」著我到處走啦！那多嚴重呀，大老爺。你一定要替我小婦人做主，我一定會報答你的。

In this ridiculous burlesque, the noseless

ghost symbolizes the "little woman" who are so common in Chinese society. They are so weak and dependent that they need to be "led around by the nose." It is clear to us that strong satire underlies this amusing dramatic impersonation.

Another farcical scene is in the trial of a ghost with a smashed head who died after being hit on the head by a pack of lead falling from sky. He was a gambler who always lost when he was alive. Even his wife was loaned to others. One day, he was told that God was "the fairest and kindest" (p. 166). So, he went home immediately to pray to God to give him a bag of gold. While he was kneeling and praying in his room, he was killed by a bag of lead which fell right on his head. And he believes that it must have been bestowed to him by God. But he says with a sigh that it was a pity that God picked the wrong bag by mistake. And then Ghost I asks him how he knows that it was given by God. The ghost answers:

I think many others like me must also have been praying, so God made a mistake, being so busy. He surely picked the wrong one for me. (Crying and pleading) Please, please, your honor, send me back. Otherwise, what can I do when God sends the gold? (p. 166)

我想很多跟我一樣的人一定都在求，所以上帝祂也會忙中有錯，拿錯了。(哀哭地) 求求老爺們放我回去吧，要不然上帝拿黃金來的時候找不到我怎麼辦！

Ghost II tells him that his wife has already had his body cremated and married someone else, so he cannot go back. But the ghost retorts:

I don't believe it. I don't believe that my good wife could act so fast. She usually didn't wash the dirty clothes I changed out of until a week or two later. So I don't believe it. (Pleading in tears again) Please, please do let me go back. (p. 166)

我不信，我那個黃臉婆的動作會那麼快。平常我換下來的衣服她都要放上十天半個月才洗。我不信。（再哀哭地）求求你放我回去吧。

Worthy of our notice in this example is that the ghost serves as an interesting impersonation of the vice of greed for gold or money. On the other hand, we are also deeply struck by the critical satire of God who is "the fairest and the kindest" but who could make such a ridiculous and mortal mistake. More ironical is that the wife who is slow in washing clothes but who is very fast in marrying someone else after her husband has died.

Laughter is also invoked when a cowardly ghost is brought up to be investigated. Ghost III announces that this ghost died when he was delivering a campaign speech. Ghost II asks:

How come? Did he die from the anxiety of not being able to think — think of any curse or slander to condemn his — his opponents? (p. 167)

怎麼？他是想想不出話來罵他的政敵急急死的？

Ghost III answers:

No. He is such a cowardly ghost as to be ashamed to death of his own brazen boast about his "greatness." (p. 167)

非也。他是被自己「偉大」的大言不慚慚愧死的害羞的膽小鬼。

It is obvious that this farcical parody satirizes the absurdity of political elections. All the candidates who expect to be elected must boast of their unreal "greatness." We will be greatly amused at this farce because this ridiculous political scene seems so familiar to us. At the same time, the satirical message behind the farce is conveyed to us through laughter when Ghost II comments satirically: 吹牛說說謊，嚇死自己的可不多多見。"It is really unusual for one to be scared to death by his own boasts and lies" (p. 167). From the above examples we can see that assuming a function similar to fools of Western tradition, ghosts in this play enjoy a privilege to give satiric comments in a comical or farcical manner.

C. Ghosts as Wit-Intriguers

After reviewing the important role played by the ghosts in Hwang's play as witty jesters and ironical commentators, a role akin to Shakespeare's wise fool who also expresses his wit in the form of parody, it is interesting to note that the three Ghosts, though, remaining relatively detached from the main plot of the play, serve as a sort of wit-intriguer and plot-manipulator, which, according to Goldsmith, is the role of the fool usually assigned to "the jesting Vice in the Tudor interlude."¹⁴ In contrast to Death in *Everyman*, who is but a warning agent of God, the three Ghosts play a much more active role like the comic Vice to build up the comic and satiric atmosphere of the whole play. Through their wit and manipulation, God's role is reduced to a minimum. He becomes nothing but a passive, trivial puppet controlled by the three Ghosts instead of the reverse being the case.

For example, at the very beginning of the play, seeing that the returning souls are in such different states, some weak and old, others handicapped and deformed, God wants to find out the reason (pp. 140-41). He summons the three Ghosts immediately to catch all the men on earth to be examined by himself. When God asks the three Ghosts why many young ghosts who have returned are without arms or legs and even without heads and faces, Ghost III accuses God ironically of not handling properly the inevitable result of Adam and Eve eating the forbidden fruit from the Tree of Knowledge. Then Ghost III comments ironically that it has contributed to the establishment of various religions and sects, in which each religion claims to be the "truest" and attacks the other religions. This has resulted in many different ideologies and many wars in which men are ruthlessly massacred. In a farcically ironical tone, Ghost III attributes all of these to God's driving Adam and Eve out of Eden after they were caught eating half the forbidden fruit, an act permitted tacitly by God. In this rather satirical comment, God is bitterly ridiculed. His supreme authority seems to be shattered completely by Ghost III's ironical accusation. Hearing the report by Ghost III that the atomic bombs created by men are much more powerful than His thunder and lightening, God becomes like a weak and powerless dotard who gives vent easily to ridiculous rage and hollow threat ordering the Ghosts to catch all the men for him to investigate (p. 141). The ignorance of God is further exposed when Ghost II says that 他老人家大概不知道現在全世界的人口有多少！ "The old man probably doesn't know what the population

of the world amounts to" (p. 142). So, they plot to catch a man called Yang Shih-jen 楊世人 (Everyman) to represent all mankind. Although Yang is not about to die, they assign Ghost II the responsibility to procuring Yang's death by an accident since he must die by accident. And, moreover, they agree to carry out their scheme to catch various ghosts to be tried along with Yang, which sets the subplot of Act III.

Therefore, we can see that catching Yang is the idea of the three Ghosts rather than God's own. Act III, in which mocking humor and comic satire have been discussed, is a subplot completely controlled and manipulated by the three Ghosts. This is an addition by Hwang, which does not have a counterpart in *Everyman*. The reason for opening the act is given by Ghost II, who claims that they should hold a preliminary trial to classify the ghosts they have caught before sending them to God lest they make a mistake again by taking a murder for a suicide (p. 163). And he jokes that although the Ghosts do not have to pay compensation for the wrong sentence, it is not good to be scolded by God again (p. 163). Here, we can infer from Ghost II's remarks that they seem to be often making mistakes by passing wrong judgments. Ironically, they seem to be able to influence the sentence to a certain degree. The satire is quite obvious here because the three Ghosts act like fools. The ironic parody of the judiciary system reveals to us that there is no true justice, that the judge (God) is not completely fair, a further deterioration of God's power and authority.

In the Epilogue, when Yang is brought before God, He asks why there is only

one man. The three Ghosts explain that Yang can represent all the characteristics of human beings and they add a joke that it can save God lots of time (p. 173). Like Shakespeare's fools, they also have a license to speak the truth, a right given to other human characters only when they are wearing masks in Hwang's play. And the Ghosts tell God jokingly that man is beginning to lose faith in Him and that He should show more power in the future so that it would be easier for them to do business on earth (p. 173). Surprised, God asks: 不是有很多新教堂、新寺廟天天在興建嗎? "Aren't there many churches and temples being built every day?" (p. 174). But Ghost III comments satirically that all of them are now occupied by devils, and vagrants whose only aim is to make a fortune out of these institutions by turning them into various kinds of tourist attractions (p. 174). As the Ghosts tell God that Yang represents all the good points and bad points of men, God asks Yang to explain. Then Yang produces all the new inventions of men for God to see. God becomes very interested in these inventions. He is so glad that He wants to send Yang back because He is too occupied with these new inventions to really care about Yang. This brings about the happy ending to the play. Satirically, God says that He wants to see if the inventions by men have counterfeited or infringed on His patents (p. 175).

Besides acting like the comic Vice as plot-manipulators, the three Ghosts also express warmth of feeling, which, according to Goldsmith, also characterizes Shakespeare's fools as mentioned before. For example, when Yang pleads with Ghost II to delay catching him

so that he can take care of his parents, Ghost II is very sympathetic to his piety and mercifully gives him a three-day grace period (p. 144). In the example in which the ghost with a smashed head asks the Ghosts to send him back so that he can be there when God sends him the right bag of gold, the three Ghosts show again their mercy because they think he is not so heinous or evil as the murderers (p. 166). Ghost II even suggests to Ghost III that he should defend the cowardly ghost who died of the embarrassment of boasting of his greatness in a campaign speech (p. 167). Ghost II argues that it shows that the cowardly ghost must be a ghost full of emotions and sentiments (p. 167). In other words, he is very human. Therefore, he is a ghost who is worthy of sympathy. He must not be an icy, stone-hearted man. So, they agree to help him by saying something good about him before God. These examples, I believe, clearly indicate the feelings of camaraderie and the warmth of emotions among the ghosts in Hwang's play, a characteristic which tends to be neglected.

III. CARNIVAL

Not unlike the symposium in ancient Menippea, the gathering of the ghosts to tell each other how they died in a farcical, satirical way acts like a Feast of Fools of the Menippean satirical tradition. It is interesting to note that in Act III a carnival-square atmosphere is created in which the serious, normal life is parodied, ridiculed, and turned upside down. According to the definition in the glossary of Bakhtin's *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, "Menippean satire" is a genre which "is characterized

by its mockery of serious forms, its digression and exaggeration, and its mixture of prose and verse."¹⁵ *The Harper Handbook to Literature* describes its elements including "a rambling narrative (or, in short forms, a dialogue or colloquy); unusual settings; displays of erudition; and long digressions."¹⁶ Originating with Menippus (third century B.C.),¹⁷ the Menippea, according to Bakhtin, usually portrays the nether world as a carnivalized, joyful hell.¹⁸

Interestingly enough, Act III in Hwang's play, I find, is similar in treatment. The various ghosts summoned up to the stage to reveal their ridiculous ways of death make up a sort of "carnival collective, which seems to a certain extent itself outside the norms and order of ordinary life."¹⁹ Such communal performance is a basic characteristic of the carnival. In the carnivalized world, distance, status, hierarchy is subverted, dismantled for the time being, everyone is brought into familiar contact on an equal level.²⁰ For example, in Hwang's play, we find an idiot, a coward, a gambler and stupid students who can only recite the standard answer coming together to participate in the communal performance, or communal ridicule. They are the participants in this carnivalized world while in the real world, they would only be onlookers.

As Bakhtin points out, the participants in the carnival live a carnivalistic life; that is, a life "drawn out of its usual rut," "life turned inside out."²¹ "Eccentricity" is, according to Bakhtin, another basic element of the carnivalized world.²² This constitutes the crowning of the carnival in which the low, or insignificant is raised to be equal with the high or the great. On the other hand, the high is often debased resulting

in the reversal of the usual hierarchical order of the real world.

An obvious evidence is that God's power in the play is often questioned; his authority is often suspected. In Act III, he is even absent. In the mock trial, the three Ghosts serve as a substitute for God. They, in a sense, represent God's authority. But as I have discussed, the three Ghosts act as fools, being afraid that they might make a mistake in passing a wrong judgment. In the play, they do not exert much authority; instead, they are brought down to be on equal terms with those eccentric ghosts and have a dialogue with them. Such crowning/decrowning is another important characteristic of the carnival.²³

Another example of the dethroning of God is when He is warned by the Ghosts in a joking manner that His churches, the symbol of his power, have been turned into machines for making money. A poignant example of the decrowning is revealed when God is portrayed as obsessed with men's inventions, afraid that his power is being usurped by men. Such profanation of higher authority is another essential characteristic often found in the carnival.

In Act III, the three Ghosts assuming God's authority to preside over the trial also act like carnival kings to be debased to achieve the free and familiar contact and the carnivalistic *mésalliances* in the carnival. Therefore, my study shows that ghosts in Hwang's *Comedy* not only act like fools in Western drama, but they also very interestingly create a sense of carnival atmosphere, especially in Act III for the whole play, which, I think, is worthy of our notice.

IV. CONCLUSION

As Hwang tries to use his *Comedy*

as a parody of *Everyman*, the ghosts play the important role of serving as a mouthpiece for expressing satire, a role usually reserved for the fools in Western drama. And my study has shown very interestingly that the ghosts in fact act like the fools of Western tradition: they employ "verbal farce" like word-play, punning, and doggerels to invoke laughter. Through laughter, satire is achieved; they also serve as satirical commentators like the wise fools in Shakespeare's plays and, moreover, they ridicule and satire the folly in personification of folly; and like the comic Vice, they also act as plot-manipulators. The pungent wit

and the warmth of feelings expressed by the ghosts also associate them with the Shakespearean fools.

Another important function served by the ghosts in this play is that a sense of carnival atmosphere is created. Through the communal performance of familiar contact, reversal, crowning/decrowning and profanation, the ghosts create a carnivalized world. And in the carnival atmosphere, the parodic purpose is better achieved in a joyful, amusing way. The laughter, entertainment, and the provocation for us to think produced by the happy hell of the ghosts as fools is Hwang's originality and contributes, I believe, to the success of the play.

NOTES

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¹ Hwang Mei-shu 黄美序, *Yang Shih-jen te hsi-chü* 楊世人的喜劇 (*The Comedy of Yang Shih-jen*), *Chung-wai wen hsüeh* 中外文學 12.2 (July 1983): 134-77. All the quotations cited in this article follow this edition. (Hereafter it is cited as *Comedy*).

² Robert Hillis Goldsmith, *Wise Fools in Shakespeare* (Michigan: Michigan UP, 1963), 5.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Chambers (*Mediaeval Stage*, I, 59-61; II, App. G) cites the hard strictures of Thomas de Cabham, Sub-Dean of Salisbury, in about the year 1213 against several kinds of *histriones*. Cabham recognizes four main groups of entertainers: ballad-singers, makers of romance, satirists, and dancers, tumblers, and mimes; qtd. in Goldsmith, 106, note 24.

⁵ Goldsmith, 6.

⁶ Goldsmith, 14.

⁷ Goldsmith, 17.

⁸ Goldsmith, 18.

⁹ Robert B. Heilman, "Shakespeare's Variations on Farcical Style," *Shakespeare's Craft*, ed. Philip H. Highfill, Jr. (Carbondale & Edwardsville: Southern Illinois UP, 1982), 102.

¹⁰ Goldsmith, 40.

¹¹ Goldsmith, 41.

¹² Oscar James Campbell, *Shakespeare's Satire* (London: Archon Books, 1963), 3-23.

¹³ All the English translations in this article are mine.

¹⁴ Goldsmith, 23-24.

¹⁵ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, ed. & trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 316.

¹⁶ Northrop Frye, Sheridan Baker and George Perkins, *The Harper Handbook to Literature* (New

York: Harper & Row, 1985), 282.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Bakhtin, 133.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 171.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 124.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 122.

²² *Ibid.*, 123.

²³ *Ibid.*, 124-25.

Law and Poetry in Ancient China

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(陳民耿)

According to the *Book of History*, Kao Yao, one of the ministers under Emperor Yu, once said:

The doubtful crimes should be dealt
with lightly;
The doubtful merits may be estimated
highly.
Rather than put to death a person
innocent;
The standard may not be possible
to fix.¹

The attitude adopted by the Chinese intellectuals toward laws had been such. That is why the legal system of China was different from that of the Occident.

When the Chin dynasty was overthrown, Liu Pang entered the capital and proclaimed himself the emperor with a famous provisional constitution consisting of only three articles. The wording of the three articles is like this:

The murderer should receive capital
punishment;
Both the wound-inflicter and robber
Have to be chastised for crime as
atonement.²

It was so short but precise, being useful in maintaining social order after the great upheaval throughout the country. Later it was revised and enlarged to

nine articles by Hsiao Ho, Liu Pang's first premier. The original text of the Nine Articles has been lost. Since article or Chuang means chapter or stanza and the Three Articles were written in rhyme, we have every reason to believe that the Nine Articles were also written in rhyme. During the early period of this dynasty, the laws for punishments had been put aside as the people were law-abiding. The country was in need of a law as simple as possible.

Wang Chang was a noted official in the Later Han dynasty. The district of Nanyang became well-organized when he served as its magistrate. He laid emphasis on moral teachings and not on punishments.

To seriously use punishments,
Is no better than to show mercy,
Untiring in search for the wicked,
Is no better than to trust the worthy
well.³

Emperor Tai-tsung of the Tang dynasty followed the policy and went a step further by improving the livelihood of the people. Once the problem of suppressing robbery was brought up for discussion in the cabinet, a proposal for adopting harsh laws had been put forth by the courtiers. Tai-tsung declined to accept it. He said that thrift should

be urged, taxation should be lightened, and honest officers should be employed. "Once the people are well off, they will not act as robbers. What is the use of harsh laws?" After a few years, there was a general peace throughout the country. "On the road, no one would pick up things that had been dropped. The outer door of each household was left open."⁴

Once Tai-tsung was himself engaged in reviewing a list of convicted prisoners totaling three hundred and ninety who had to suffer capital punishment. He set them free, asking them to come next autumn to face the day of retribution. Within the time limit, each of them turned up at court without exception. Tai-tsung was excited and pardoned them all.⁵

Yu Shih-nan, one of Tai-tsung's ablest and most learned ministers, had written many verses, one of which deals with law. He said:

From the harmonious music we know
the culture is all right.

Litigation at a standstill means the
penalty is lenient.

Be perspicuous and careful and there
will be no injustice

To extend sympathy in love of living
things.

In this way no punishment will be
in existence,

In praising it we are exceedingly glad.⁶

They thought that if all kinds of human conduct were to be regulated by law, one would easily become a prey of law. Most of the vested rights were unfounded but protected by law. Once the laws were gotten rid of, the people would enjoy a real liberty. Tai-tsung was urged by Wei Chen, his most influential minister, to base national policy on virtue rather than on law.

Punishments were believed to be useless.

Early in China, people were given to understand the importance of mediation. Lu Chung-lien had done it very well and set an example for the others to follow. Since then mediation has been considered one of the best methods in settling disputes. It could help reduce the caseload and thereby alleviate grievances and make the courts more accessible to the people in various parts of the country. That is why mainland China today has made mediation a major instrument. The Chinese ancients, however, did not issue a set of statutes, regulations or other legal instruments. They adopted mediation. They chose to make the difficult problems involved in the process of mediation simple by chanting a song or songs that conveyed a good idea being acceptable to all the parties concerned.

Most ancient laws in China were very brief. Not a few of them had been written in rhyme. People would have no difficulty in remembering them, for instance:

Soldier in the frontier
Who steals more than one hundred
coins
Shall be executed.⁷

One who steals the clothes of the
imperial temple
Or articles belonging to the imperial
house
Has to be executed.⁸

Neither officer nor civilian who trades
with foreigners
Shall be allowed to bring along with
them weapons of war or iron,
To go out of the frontier.⁹

Tai-tsung had issued a decree forbidding
the beating of a criminal's back.¹⁰

Later a large number of distinguished

scholars were employed to do the law codification work. Some of them were great poets. From their point of view, laws should not be made without taking moral philosophy into consideration; since the Han dynasty to the present time, among the intellectuals this thought has prevailed. They have been deeply influenced by the teachings of Confucius. He said:

If the people be led by law
And uniformity be given them by
penalty
They would try to avoid the penalty
And lose the sense of shame.
If the people be led by virtue
And uniformity be given them by
ethical rules
They would have the sense of shame
And likewise behave well.¹¹

Law in Chinese is also called *lǚ* as *lex* in Latin, while the "rules" of metrical composition is *lǚ* too. One's poetical writing has to follow *lǚ* just as his conduct has to be adjusted to *lǚ*. That is perhaps why various laws, regulations, rules, etc. especially in ancient times, were often written in rhyme or free verse.

One who had married and marries
again should be sentenced to
a year of penal servitude.
The family of the newly married girl
should be punished in a grade
lower.
If such wedlock formed out of con-
cealing the fact penal servitude
would be a year and half.
The family of the girl so married is
not guilty but has to be divorced.¹²

This is one of the articles in the Tang code and many others are like this. For example:

One who steals or has stolen the valu-
ables belonging to the imperial
house has to be hanged;
For stealing the imperial garments
and articles one has to be banished
two thousand five hundred *li*
away;¹³

One who had in his possession poison-
ous meats by which man had
been injured,
All the rest should be burned at once;
otherwise he would be subject
to penalty of ninety heavy blows.¹⁴

Men for assault and battery,
Teeth being broken,
Ears or nose hurt,
One eye impaired,
Limbs or fingers broken,
Shall be punished by a year of servitude.
In case more than two teeth and two
fingers are broken
And the head of the victim is caused
to be bald
He shall spend a year and half in
servitude.¹⁵

One who trespasses the lane or street
or path between ricefields shall be
punished by seventy heavy blows.
If he cultivates it with plantation
for supporting himself, he shall
be punished with fifty heavy
blows and restoration has to
be made.

No accusation, in case such plantation
does no harm,
To allow dirty things to flow out
through a wall, a man shall receive
sixty heavy blows;
Without penal consequence, if there
is simply water issuing.
The responsible officer, who did not
take care in prohibiting such
conduct, shall be subject to the
same punishment.¹⁶

One who leaked out those important
matters
That should be kept secret shall be
hanged;

Not important matters that should
be kept secret shall be punished
by a year of servitude.

If the leakage were made to the envoy
of a foreign state,

The penalty will be increased by a
grade.

The others as accessories.

If the matter was top-secret

He shall be punished by eighty blows

Without penal consequences in case
of insignificant matters.¹⁷

Those who were pursuing a culprit
could not get him under control,
And duly told the pedestrian who
could help them, but declined
to do so.

The pedestrian shall be inflicted with
eighty blows.

No penal consequence in case the
circumstances made it impossible
to offer such help.¹⁸

The Chinese is a race naturally
inclined to "rhymology." They consider
that "reason and rhyme" are well
connected together. If law is reasonable,
it must be rhymical. Perhaps that is
why not a few of the laws, rules, edicts,
verdicts, etc. were written in rhyme.

Pei Hsi, son of a famous official,
hated the old bureaucratic way of
handling affairs. When he served as
mayor, he settled several cases simply
by writing verse as verdicts. Once two
women quarreled over a cat, one of
them sent him a petition saying:

If that is pussy,
Then it is mine.
If it is something else,
Then it isn't mine.

Pei Hsi had a good laugh, giving a verdict:

Doesn't recognize its master the pussy
It catches rat at home.
Let it go to Pei Hsi,

Both of you needn't bother about it.

Pei Hsi took the pussy away with him.
The case was considered settled. The
two women had nothing to say.¹⁹

Ho Chung-chu, a native of Yingtao,
was poor, but had an inclination of
verse-writing. At 13, he was arrested
because of delay in paying tax to the
district office. Someone told the
magistrate that he could write verse.
He was thus put to a test and he instantly
made one:

Innocent as jade came to the jail,
Leaving home now to be put in the
cangue.

What a pity: there are two boards,
Inserted between is a flower!²⁰

Ho Chung-chu was set free and was
received with politeness. After that
he began to study diligently. In about
927 A.D. he passed the highest examina-
tion as *chinshih* and served as a prefect
of two counties.

Lo Shao-wei who got hereditary
honor was excellent in letter writing.
Before being promoted as minister,
he served as the protector of the district
of Yeh. One day a driver of a donkey
there tried to put a harness on it, leaving
its saddle on the road. The saddle was
rolled over and crushed by an ox-cart.
The donkey driver and the ox-cart driver
were involved in assault. They appealed
to Lo Shao-wei who after examining
the case handed down a poem as verdict:

Very broad is the road in the city of
Yeh.

Why should the cart-driver roll over
a saddle?

One who harnessed the donkey had
to wait a little while.

The cart-driver in the mischance should
face a trial.²¹

About a hundred years ago, there was a rich widow Madame Tang in Nanking. Her two sons were under the guidance and instruction of a tutor who had passed the provincial examination. A Chang of the same city learned of the financial situation of the widow. An attempt had been made by him to get himself close to her. Thus he married a cousin of hers. After that he got the chance to meet with the Tangs.

This Chang was badly in need of money. Now he began to hatch a plot by keeping the mother and her younger son in an antagonistic position. Once he tied the younger kid and beat him bitterly. Fortunately the tutor came to the rescue and the matter was brought to the district court. The magistrate was Wan Wan-sam, a famous literary man who, like many other magistrates, was fond of giving a rhymic verdict. After reviewing the case Wan Wan-sam found out the dirty motive of the culprit and said in his verdict as follows:

Chang should be beaten with blows
In order to condole the ancestors of
the Tangs,
In order to tranquilize the inhabitants
of the district.
In case Chang dares to come to the
Tangs,
The two brothers are permitted to
bind him up
And send him to the court for punishment.²²

Other cases, both civil and criminal, of various dynasties may be cited for illustration.

A DIVORCE CASE

When Yen Chen-ching, the duke of Lu, was magistrate of Lin Chung, a poor scholar by the name of Yang was

sued by his wife for divorce. She received a poem from her husband. It read as follows:

My personal inclination is in music
and poetry.
Now my hair turns grey, and I am
getting old.
In spite of the darkness in the streams
and valleys, like a fisherman I
still recognize.
But my wife does not believe that
I would be much better later
in my life.
She got new hairpins to dress herself.
Before mirror her eyebrows are painted
in a new way.
From today we look upon each other
as strangers.
To meet each other would be the
time when I leave the mountain.

Yang meant to say that his wife might have a new lover. She took this piece of poem to the office of the magistrate to sue for divorce. Yen Chen-ching passed judgment on the case by writing a verdict in rhyme.

Yang Chi-chien early familiar with
Confucian teachings wins reputa-
tion in poetry.
Although longing for success in civil
test
Yet he does not obtain any official
emolument.
His foolish wife sees his lack of good
luck
Does not like to stay with him a little
longer.
She is unwilling to follow the example
of a nice wife to do something
better.
But learns not to be a helpmate and
gets tired of her partner.
This is a shame to society; beautiful
customs are being spoiled.
If no punishment were inflicted,
How could we do anything for this
world?
Mrs. Yang has to be beaten by twenty

blows and let her remarry.

Yang Chi-chien gets a salary from
the public office and goes to
serve in the army.

The case was so settled. Since then,
as it is related, no woman beyond the
Yangtze dared abandon her wedded
husband.²³

QUARRELS OVER PROPERTY

A

Many years ago, Chang Pen-yi served
as magistrate of Lingan. He was known
for his earnestness and ability. When
losing his wife at the age of seventy,
he remarried and gave birth to a second
son by the name of Late.

When he retired from office, his
second wife told him about his elder
son. The latter, she thought, might
not be willing to support her and her
little son after her husband's death.
Chang Pen-yi thus wrote a paper and
gave it to her, saying: "After my death,
when Late, my son, grows up, a good
magistrate may come to our district
and you may bring your case to him.
Both of you would have to rely on
this paper. You must take care of it."
She nodded assent and kept the paper
in secret.

The next year Chang passed away.
She and her little son, having been
expelled from the house, were forced
to live somewhere in the hills. When
Late grew up, he was shown his father's
paper in which a poem was written:

After seventy years another spring
has come,
After this, there will be no more spring.
Quite afraid of getting faded this
old tree,

From its root the mishap may come.

The last line explains a historical incident
in connection with Chao Chao's two
sons. Late was now not too young
to understand it. He worked very hard.
He passed the first-degree district
examination at the top of the list. When
he went to see the magistrate he expressed
his gratitude. The magistrate inquired
about his life. The boy told the truth
and his elder brother was called to give
reasons. By reading his father's will —
a poem, his brother assented to the
suggestion made by the magistrate to
divide his father's property equally
between his brother and himself.²⁴

B

There had been a long dispute over
a piece of property in the inner city of
Foochow between two inhabitants; each
of them wanted to build a wall on the
property of the other. The quarrel
went on without a peaceful solution.
It was at last brought up to the magistrate
of the district for decision. He gave
judgment by issuing a poetical verdict.

Both of your families have been quar-
relling simply because of a wall.
What does it matter to yield a length
of three feet to the other?
The Great Wall now still exists.
But the First Emperor has disappeared
already.

The magistrate acted not only as
a legal authority but as a philosophical
instructor also. He emphasized Chinese
virtue in "yielding". The plaintiff at
once built his house with a wall retreating
backward three feet in width and allowed
his neighbor to have plenty of space
to build his. His neighbor was deeply

moved and did the same. Thus a space was left wide enough to make a lane. This little lane called "Lane of Virtue" is located in the center of Foochow City and it still exists.²⁵

C

Chi Tsao-ku, a native of Loping district in Hopei province, was a scholar with four younger brothers. Both he and the youngest one were poor, while the rest was well-off. He himself had no offspring while the rest each had a son with the exception of the youngest who had two. When Chi Tsao-ku died, the question of family heredity had to be considered in accordance with old customs. That is to say that the son of his second brother should be transferred to be his heir-son while the gap left by the second brother's son was to be filled by that of the third brother and so on. But his second brother disliked this arrangement, because his eldest brother was poor. He did not wish to see his son brought up in a poor family, and he consequently made the suggestion that one son of his youngest brother's be turned over to be heir-son of his eldest brother. But his youngest brother declined to accept the proposal. They actually came into an insoluble controversy. The case was finally referred to the local court for settlement.

The magistrate Yu Chen-lum settled the case by suggesting that the property of the five brothers be divided up into five portions to be distributed to the five sons so that each of them would have an equal share. Yu Chen-lum issued the verdict also in rhyme; the last four lines are given here.

The three (rich) brothers with the same

mind
As a result, "Gold could be cut."
Goodwill brings good luck.
Litigation will end in evil.

The parties involved happily reached an agreement, having nothing to argue about any more.²⁶ Gold could be cut, a term quoted from *I Ching*.

ROBBERY

A

Before taking up an official post, Teng-fa gave lectures to a group of pupils in a monastery. One night the pupils stole the dog of the monk and ate it. The case was referred to the magistrate for trial. The accused were convicted of robbery.

Teng seemed to think that such an action by his pupils did not constitute a crime, since the dog often barked in the night. They got rid of the dog by cooking it with an intention of maintaining tranquility of the monastery. That appeared to be necessary and reasonable.

He asked for pardon. The magistrate declined unless Teng would send in a petition in rhyme to support them. Teng did so immediately.

As the monk is unmanly,
The dog of course can be stolen.
Its bark in the night in the monastery
is now put to an end
A good breakfast with "hot dog"
in the tent can well be prepared. . . .

Upon hearing this, the magistrate burst out into laughter. In the last line, the "tent" here means the class-room where the pupils were attending Buddhist lectures.²⁷

B

On the Lantern Festival night in 1124 a grand feast was given to the public by Emperor Hui-tsung in his palace. Large numbers of beautiful bright lanterns were displayed here and there under the brilliant light of the shining moon. Numerous people, including men and women, arrived to participate. There were more than a thousand servants ready to serve the guests with delicious meals first and fine wine later. Wine was served all in gold goblets.

Close to the Mount Ngno, through a teeming crowd a woman elbowed her way and drank up the wine. Taking the gold goblet away, she kept it in her bosom. A court attendant saw her action. He shouted out loudly: "This gold goblet which belongs to the palace should not be taken away." Thus the woman was arrested and brought to the court in front of Hui-tsung. Upon inquiry of the reason of her taking the goblet, she testified by chanting a poem in answer:

Full moon over this Fairland with
irradiant lanterns
I came to the South Gate with my
husband.
In looking at various entertainments
because of fancy,
Unawares we lost contact with each
other.
Grateful for your kindness
To have bestowed us wine, I'm drunken.
Afraid on way home my parents (in-
law) would complain,
Please give me this gold goblet to
serve as evidence.

After hearing this poem chanted, Hui-tsung at once gave the goblet to her. But one of the courtiers, Chao Yuan-lun,

protested, saying that the poem so chanted might be one written by her husband in advance. To put her to a test right now seemed necessary. "If she fails, she has to receive capital punishment according to law," said he. The woman was consequently ordered to write a lyric to fixed rhythm. In response, she at once made one orally:

The moon shines brightly,
Within the forbidden city, numerous
lanterns hanging here and there.
A multitude of beautiful women walked
on the well-decorated roads.
How gay! How wonderful!
The illuminant candles cast out light
Mixing up with the flames of the
silver lamps.
At the time when the music played
just at an end,
At the call of the musician's staff,
We turned our attention to have a
look at the palace.

From home I came on leave,
Together with my husband to enjoy
the festival.
By mistake, I reached the hall of the
palace
Where cups of wine were lavishly
given.
Because of limited capacity for liquor
my complexion turned red.
In telling my parents, I have nothing
to prove.
I took your Majesty's cup
In order to save myself from being
punished.

A copy of this poem was made to be presented to Hui-tsung. After reading it, he was exceedingly glad and gave the gold goblet to her without further questioning. But he remarked that this should not be taken as a precedent in law.²⁸

BANDIT SUPPRESSION

In the early Sung dynasty, Wang Chuan-ping served as commander-in-chief in Szechuan where he was engaged in carrying out the pacification work. Once his troops were ordered to pursue a group of run-away bandits and then entered a monastery in a village. They took a drunken man as a bandit but he turned out to be a monk.

They were hungry, and asked the monk for food. The monk said, "We have meat only." The monk was not a vegetarian. Wang Chuan-ping became alarmed. However, a roast pig was produced and the monk enjoyed eating it. "Besides eating meat and drinking, what else can you do?" Wang asked the monk. The latter replied, "I can write poems." Thus the monk was permitted to make one on roast pig. He did it immediately.

After being roasted it may be covered
up with banana leaf.
When well-done almond broth may
be poured over it.
Its freshness requires a gold plate to
put on.
Its softness allows only jade chop-sticks
to pick it up.

The monk was really a well-learned scholar. Wang Chuan-ping not only spared his life but gave him a very prominent official dress.²⁹

ADULTERY**A**

Wu Shu-chi was a native of Huchow, both intelligent and beautiful. She could make poetry so well that she had a wide reputation around the locality.

She lost her father, a scholar, early. Under poor circumstances, a young man from a rich family came into possession of her.

They lived together in an open state of adultery but the illicit intimacy was considered having a demoralizing and debasing influence upon society. She was sued and put in jail by the magistrate, Wang Kwei-ling. Members of the magistrate's court gathered together to have a look at her. Her beauty had a fascinating effect upon them. They ordered a few courses together with wine and allowed her to take off the cangue, to come to the table to serve.

Very graceful as Wu Shu-chi was, they said to her, "We all know that you can write long and short lines. Now you should make one." She said: "Please tell me the subject."

They said, "This is the end of winter, can spring be far behind? You just describe the present condition."

Soon she was provided with a pen and paper. Almost at once she wrote a poem:

The mist is dense.
The rain is dense.
Snow is covering heavily all over the
plum trees,
Where will spring be able to come out?
The drunken eyes of the branches
are all open,
The sleepy eyes of them are also open,
Where the crisscross shadows can be
found?
Even upon urgent request of them
by musical instruments.

They admired her lyric and considered the verdict was justified by law. It was reported to the magistrate Wang for approval. The latter duly set her free.³⁰

B

Yan Roei, a native of Tientai district, was a so-called poetic call girl well-known in the Sung dynasty. When Tang Chun-yueo served as magistrate of the district, he held a feast celebrating the occasion of the flowers in full blossom. Yan Roei made a poem and was rewarded with beautiful rich silk by Tang Chun-yueo. At the request of another guest Yan Roei made another poem. The guest was exceedingly satisfied and took her home to live together for half a year until his family became completely ruined.

Not long afterward a commissioner arrived at Tientai; he knew about the matter and at once sent both Tang Chun-yueo and Yan Roei to jail for debauchery.

After some time another commissioner came. He felt pity for Yan Roei and tested her by ordering her to make a verse on her own life. She did it at once, the first few lines of which may be given here.

Not because of being fond of becoming
gay

The mistakes due to the predestined lot.
The time of flowers in blossom and
falling

Is in the hand of the wind of the spring.

She was then allowed to marry any one she liked and at the same time Tang Chun-yueo was also released.³¹

C

Miss Lien Ching-lu was born to an honorable family in Yangpin of Fukien in the Sung dynasty. She had to educate herself in literature and poetry when her father died early. She met a young scholar in the neighborhood. She fell

in love with him with whom she had an affair. Her mother knew about it, and she was sent to prison.

When Wang Kan-chung came to Fukien as chief judge, both Lien Ching-lu and her lover were sent for to face a cross-examination. Both of them openly confessed. The chief judge asked the girl-accused whether she could make or compose on the bamboo screen of the court. She instantly made one. He was satisfied and then turned to the other culprit. At that moment up in the roof of the court a butterfly was caught in a spider's net. He pointed to that butterfly and asked him if he could make a poem on it. Chen Yien-chen also did it very well. Thus the judge issued an award in verse too, a few lines of which are given here.

The beauty and the worthy are fitting
to each other,
Good luck is finally attained through
numerous ill fate.
To be wedded is to satisfy your wishes.
From now on unnecessary to make
a secret date!³²

D

Miss Wu Chao-ning, a native of Changshu, Kiangsu, was well-versed in literature. Once she went to pay a visit to a monastery where she had met a young scholar by the name of Wang. They soon fell in love. When her father knew about the matter, he brought the case to the district court. Wu Chao-ning made a song and sang it loudly. The song is very long. We now just quote a few passages of it:

Widow Cho still wearing black mourning
dress eloped with a distinguished
scholar.

The emperor of the Han did not charge
her with guilt.
When Hung Fu, wife of General Yang
Su, eloped with another general,
The former did not try to bring her
back by chasing.

The magistrate felt pity for her and
gave a verdict allowing her to go to live
with her lover.³³

E

Cheng Shieh, a scholar, or better
known as Cheng Pan-chiao (1693-1765),
had passed the imperial examination
and became famous for his cleverness
in painting and writing. At one time
he acted as the prefect of a district
in Shantung. A monk and a nun were
arrested by the villagers for living
together. They were taken to his office
for trial.

Cheng Pan-chiao had a look at them;
being attracted by their youthfulness
and natural charm, he thought for a
while and gave a verdict in long rhyme.
The essential points are these:

One of you is a bottle-gourd, the
other a spoon.
Once joined together form a good
match.
Who has settled this romantic case?
Later on you may still remember
Cheng Pan-chiao.

In the first line, bottle-gourd in pro-
nunciation is *hutu* that means stupidity,
while spoon is *piao* that means illicit
love.³⁴

F

In 1792 there were two cases that
simultaneously happened in Tihwa,
Sinkiang province.

A man by the name of Chang I-ko
took his wife to Tihwa and served as
servant to an alien merchant. The latter
was living in a state of open adultery
with his wife. The merchant had
squandered all his money within a short
time and became very poor. Finally
he had to be supported by his servant.
The wife of Chang I-ko wished to get
rid of him. She had beaten him with
a big wooden staff. This gave rise to
her husband's indignation. He put his
wife to death and handed over a hundred
dollars to that alien. He gave himself
up to the authority.

Another man called Li Pei-lien went
out to the frontiers with his wife also.
His wife died on the way and he was
in a desperate situation. Suddenly an
alien merchant came to his rescue by
donating a sum of fifty dollars. He
was surprised and asked for the reason.
"Your wife and I were living on very
intimate terms. You did not know it.
When she was dying, she asked me to
take care of you." Li Pei-lien was angry,
threw the money away and took the
defendant to court.

When the Honorable Wen served
as governor of the province, he had a
feast with his colleagues, discussing
these two cases. One of them said,
"One does not change his friendship
with another because of richness or
poverty while the other does not break
an agreement with a friend in spite of
his being alive or dead. Though their
conduct was against the law, yet they
can be emulated as good customs."
The Honorable Wen did not agree with
this, saying:

Though this is an old custom,
How can Chang I-ko's case be taken
as a good precedent?
The judicial decision is too light:

One who killed his wife should forfeit his life;
 The one who donated the money is not held in cangue,
 He is just to be punished by receiving heavy blows.
 This is not done according to law!
 Human nature is such.
 Let what has been decided
 As it is!

Consequently Chang I-ko was not hanged, while the alien merchant who gave away the money was not punished.³⁵

G

About 1857 Wang Teh-piao, a native of Hupeh, had no certain profession but carried a heavy load of debts. In the same district there was an usurer, Li Hsin-tsiao, from whom he had borrowed the sum of seven taels at the monthly high interest of five taels. Wang was badly in need of the money, being forced to agree with the debtor about this arrangement. For a year he had actually paid Li Hsin-tsiao a total sum of sixty taels. But the creditor was still not content with what he had got already. He compelled the debtor to sign an agreement to pay a sum of ten taels at a certain date, in order to make the total amount of money up to seventy taels.

Wang Teh-piao was unable to do so. An approach was made toward his wife who was forced to commit suicide. When Hu Lin-yih became governor of the province, he reviewed the case and made a judgment in rhyme.

With a sum of seven taels only
 Demand for a tenfold of silver!
 Even if one has gold or copper mines
 Unable to satisfy this extraordinary

demand.
 Though there was no evidence of adultery committed
 The wife of the creditor was forced to commit suicide.
 It was in fact due to this.
 Li Hsin-tsiao had undergone a mental arithmetic!³⁶

Li Hsin-tsiao was thus sent to jail.

MURDER

Chao Sam, a rich merchant of Huchow, had a good friend in the same town. They were prepared to form a company in an outerport. Arrangements had been made for them to go there together. At the appointed date, Chao Sam got up early and left his home carrying his luggage.

The boatman put him to death and kept the corpse in a secret place. Soon his friend arrived and was surprised not to see him. The boatman was sent for. At Chao Sam's home, the boatman knocked on the door, shouting "Mrs. Chao, Mrs. Chao", inquiring the reason why Mr. Chao Sam was being delayed.

After the boatman told the story, searches were made but unsuccessful. The magistrate was at last sent for. He cast a suspicious eye on Chao's wife but there was no clue to the mystery either.

Some days later, one of the magistrates who reviewed the whole record wrote a couplet as follows:

Calling only Mrs. Chao, outside of
 the door,
 Inside he knew there Mr. Chao is no
 longer.

The prosecutor had established the guilt of the boatman. This couplet

was used as verdict. The boatman later confessed.³⁷

SLANDER

In ancient China the people enjoyed the right of free speech just like those of other countries. Even if they might abuse the right, no one would try to deprive them of it. Even to the defamatory speech they had to be tolerant. The defamatory speech was not considered bad, therefore not illegal. If the defamatory speech was intended to attack a certain person, then the one who was being attacked would always be taught to ignore it and forget all about it. That was why no legalist would consider slander as a serious matter. Later conditions began to change. A person with malice, expressed or implied but made public, would have to receive capital punishment and often a whole clan was put to death in case such an attack was on the government authority.

In the Han dynasty, Yang Yun, grand son-in-law of Ssu-ma Chien, had been convicted of slanderous libel for having written a short verse in six lines. He was put to death by being cut in twain. The poem³⁸ was written as follows:

To work a farm in that Mount South
Weeds overgrown are uncultivated.
About fifteen acres of beans were
planted
Only some of the stalks were left.
A human being should enjoy oneself,
Don't expect riches and honor.

In various dynasties in the history of China, a number of famous poets and verse-writers had been charged with defamation in their poems but

this was difficult to interpret. For instance, when Li Po was offered by Emperor Hsuan-sung a post and treated well, Yang Kuo-chung, a cousin of Lady Yang Kwei-fei, was jealous of his ability and profound knowledge. A petition was sent by Yang Kuo-chung to the throne, saying that Li Po uttered his grievances in his poetry. For the perusal of the sovereign, he quoted the poem:³⁹

In the East Gate, greenish is the willow.
At the end of the year, it again begins
to wither.

The sovereign wisely told him, "If a verse on willow were considered as an attack on you, then one on plum must be an insult to me. Is this right?" As the surname of Yang Kuo-chung is willow and the surname of Hsuan-tsung is plum, to interpret in this way is, of course, absurd. Li Po fortunately did not get into trouble because of this poem.

With regard to Liu Yu-hsi (772-823) the fate was different. He early passed the imperial examination, served as secretary to a governor, and later became censor. His poetry had been widely read and he enjoyed a reputation as high as that of Po Chu-i, Pei Tu, Li Teh-yu and others. He had written several long poems on the peach orchard and also on the peach; among them, he wrote one in 816 after a visit to a monastery and sent it to the emperor who had seen the peach-blossoms there. He told them that the peach trees had been planted there after Liu's departure. This poem was regarded as one purposely made to ridicule the government authority. He was thus removed from the post in Changan to one in a faraway district. It was on the part of Pei Tu

that he was later recalled to the capital. In 828 he went to that monastery and noted with much surprise that not a single tree was left with the exception of sunflowers and wild oats. He made again a little verse:⁴⁰

A huge acre of yard all overgrown
with moss.
Cabbage-flower blossoms after that of
the peach trees.
Those Taoists who had planted the
peach-trees, where have they gone?
Liu Esquire who had been here has
turned up again!

Because of this Liu Yu-hsi or Liu Esquire lost the favor of the court almost completely.

In the Tang dynasty people who wrote poetry in such a way with an intention to harm a person's reputation were generally allusive in character. The word or words were in need of careful explanations. The partisans or members of the cliques or parties often opposed each other by using poetry as an instrument. At that time such practice seemed not to have been considered illegal. But when the monarch or his courtiers were attacked by this kind of verse, the situation could be very serious.

Hsia Sung, a privy councillor of the Sung dynasty, was good in literature and excellent in administration. People did not like him because he became closely connected with two notorious ministers. He was aware of attacks by others. He made a verse⁴¹ in comparing himself to a bird being hurt.

A pearl may fetch a price.
It mustn't be used as a shooting ball!

While Ssu-ma Kwang was also afraid

of being insulted by the opposition party, he wrote a short poem,⁴² saying:

To avoid noisy clamor early is the
best policy.
Success achieved by having not been
dangerously disgraced.

Su Shih or Su Tung-po on the other hand used to criticize the governing authority by verse. His friend, Wen Yu-ko, had advised him not to write such poems but without avail. Han Chi, a veteran statesman who had achieved success in administration, was admired generally by the populace. He had written a little verse⁴³ on water-horses just at the time the New Law was proclaimed.

Those fishes are frightened by touching
the fragrance of the blue lilies.
Those water-horses with their long
bodies and long feet have formed
groups.

We don't know what he referred to. Su Shih likewise had written a long poem⁴⁴ on "Two Animals", namely, the water-horse seemingly being Wang An-shih while the quail himself.

These, however, did not give rise to political trouble. Only when he wrote on Kuai or Chinese juniper that he began to get into serious distress. In fact, Su Shih had written several poems on Kuai. The one that had caused him to be deeply involved in politics is a little couplet. He wrote it after he had paid a visit to the private residence of a certain Mr. Wang where he noted with interest two old Kuai trees. He said,

Its root penetrating underground to
nowhere being crooked.

In the cold time only the hibernating
dragon knows.⁴⁵

Dragon means the Sovereign. Hibernating dragon implies that an emperor who has not yet assumed the supreme power. One of the two Kuai trees seemed to refer to himself who was in possession of an upright character like the root of the Kuai.

Su Shih's father was Su Hsun, younger brother Su Che. All of them were considered literary giants and many of their works are still being read, especially those of Su Shih. Su Shih was not only excellent in prose but also in painting, calligraphy and verse. He was intensely interested in politics and fond of playing politics by making poems. He first learned how to write sarcastic poems in the way Liu Yu-hsi had done.⁴⁶ He was a conservative, antagonistic to the New Reform policy advocated by Wang An-shih. He made numerous verses in attacking the authority, totalling almost as many as fifty. In 1079, he was impeached by three censors who sent a petition to the throne, accompanied by a copy of the poems made by him. It was a very famous case known in

the history of China. Su Shih was made prisoner and subjected to torture. A top-ranking official, who was confined for other crimes in another cell close to his, heard his crying and wrote a verse describing it. Su Shih himself also made a verse in describing the cruel punishment he had undergone. That poem had actually reached the throne. At last he was not condemned to death. After that, he was not happy in the capital, usually going to the various cities south of the Yangtze, sometime serving as magistrate. Only in 1092 he was recalled to be minister of war. Less than a year later he was banished again. In about 1095 he served as assistant-commissioner of a little city, Huichow of Kwangtung. Though the environment was quite miserable, yet he felt satisfied. He made a short lyric to console himself, saying that he was heavy in sleep in the spring. When the high officials at court heard of this poem, Su Shih was removed from the post and banished further south to the Hainan Island!

About such kind of poetry cases there are many but we cannot deal with them all here.

NOTES

¹ *Shu Chi* by Legge, p. 59.

² *Shu Chi* by Ssu-ma Chien 0035 HB 0293.

³ *Later Han Book* 0821.

⁴ *Tang Book* 3064.

⁵ KCICL 43.7.

⁶ CTP 300.

⁷ *Chiu Chao Lu Ke* by Chen Shu-teh, p. 91.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

¹⁰ *Tang Lu Shu I* by Chang-san Wu-chi: Preface.

¹¹ CTP 54.

¹² TLSI, Commercial Press, p. 120.

- ¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 58.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 82.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 35.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 81.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 60.
- ¹⁹ *Kai Yuan Chuan Shih Chi* by Cheng Chi, p. 4.
- ²⁰ CTP 4482.
- ²¹ *Wu Tai Shih (Five Dynasties History)*, 4215.
- ²² Wan Wan-sam Judgment Records.
- ²³ CTPH V.II, p. 9.
- ²⁴ *Yu Yang Ye Tan (Yu Yang Night Talks)*.
- ²⁵ *Voice of Min*, 1967 5.1.
- ²⁶ Yu Cheng-lum Judgment Records.
- ²⁷ *SSCS Sung Poetry Records* 19.8.
- ²⁸ *Hsuan Ho Yi Shih (Tales of Hsuan Ho Period)* pp. 35-37.
- ²⁹ *Tung-po Chi-Lin (Su Tung-po Narratives)* V. VII, p. 2.
- ³⁰ *Yi Chien Chi*, V. 35, p. 7.
- ³¹ Chueh Meao Ho Shih Notes.
- ³² *Tsui Wen Tan Lu*.
- ³³ *Tuan San Shih*.
- ³⁴ Cheng Peng-chiao Judgment Records.
- ³⁵ Hwa Si Miscellaneous Records.
- ³⁶ Hu Lin-yi Judgment Records.
- ³⁷ *Wu Chung-sam's Legal Cases Criticism*, p. 81.
- ³⁸ *Ku Shih Yuan (Ancient Poetry Sources)* Vol. II, p. 9.
- ³⁹ CTP 625.
- ⁴⁰ CTP 2174.
- ⁴¹ *Sung Shih Chi Shih (Poetic Affairs of Sung Dynasty)* Vol. IX, p. 8.
- ⁴² *Sung Shih Chi Shih*, Vol. 14, p. 11.
- ⁴³ *An Yang Chi*, p. 13.
- ⁴⁴ *Tung-po Shih Chao*, The World Book Co., p. 47.
- ⁴⁵ *Su Tung-po Chi*, Commercial Press, Vol. II, p. 52.
- ⁴⁶ *Su Shih Szu Siang Tan Tao (Study of Su Shih's Thought)*, Chung Hwa Book Co., by Lin Chin-lu, p. 36.

The Japanese and the Americans: Contrasting Historical Periods of Economic and Social Development in Palau*

Dirk Anthony Ballendorf

The Japanese colonial period in Palau, 1914 to 1944, although one of the lesser economic demonstrations when taken in the context of the entire Japanese colonial period or when compared with other of the Japanese colonies, proved several important things which, in contemporary times, are becoming more and more significant: (1) the islands can realize self-sufficiency in agriculture, (2) the islands can export raw materials and cash crops profitably, and (3) the islanders can function productively as a labor force.

Of the four colonial periods in Micronesia: Spanish, 1668-1898; German, 1899-1914; Japanese, 1914-1944; and, American, 1944-1986, the Japanese period has received the least serious attention and study. This has been due to the recentness of that administration and also because it was a harsh, exploitive one which ended disastrously with the Pacific War. Until recently, there appeared to be a certain embarrass-

ment about it on the part of the Japanese, who were more inclined to accentuate the positive aspects of their former presence, especially since Micronesia today remains quite actively within their sphere of growing economic influence, and their economic investment in the region continues to grow and portends a brighter and brighter future for Japanese commerce and enterprise.

Another reason for the general dearth of serious studies on the Japanese period in the islands has been the fact that insufficient numbers of Western scholars are functional enough in Japanese language to undertake studies of the existing documents and records; not enough of these have been translated into English. However, there is a lot of information available and increasing amounts becoming either available or recognized as rich sources, and we can expect therefore that the study of the Japanese period will increase in the future, and this will certainly be a

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welcome and useful development.

The discourse here, however, is not dealing so much with Japanese colonial history as it is with the Palauans' perceptions of that colonial period in their islands, and in this sense I am commenting upon and investigating Micronesian history, although the line between the Micronesian experience and the Japanese experience is sometimes very fine. Between 1984 and 1986, the Micronesian Area Research Center at the University of Guam undertook a study of the Palauan perceptions of the Japanese.¹ Our method was to interview a sampling of Palauan citizens born between the years 1900 and 1930, and to attempt an analysis of the data along seven theme lines, of which economic development was one.

In approaching this study, there were several conventional myths which shroud the Japanese period, either obvious or subtle. These are: (1) Micronesians did not participate in or contribute to the Japanese economic development efforts; labor was imposed from the outside in the personages of Koreans, Taiwanese, Okinawans, and Japanese from rural areas like Hokkaido. (2) the economic development efforts of the Japanese were meager in the final analysis, and (3) since the whole Japanese effort was an exploitive one, most of the psychological lessons learned would have to be forgotten if the Micronesians — Palauans in this case — would ever be able to function productively on their own.

Following the disaster of the Pacific War, the Palauan economy collapsed completely. The Japanese nationals were repatriated within one year and the island economy returned to an almost completely subsistence form. The

American administration began various programs which were designed to promote development and the general welfare, but which were based on assumptions of democracy, individual rights, and common welfare that were entirely new, culturally and experientially, for Palauans. This new approach was perhaps best represented in one of the earliest memorandums promulgated by the American military authorities:

... it shall be the mission and duty of U.S. military government to give effect to the announced policies of the United States by ... the early establishment of self-governing communities; the institution of a sound program of trade, industry, and agriculture along lines which will assist them in achieving the highest possible level of economic independence; and the establishment of an educational program adapted to the capabilities of the islanders and to local environments and designed to assist in the early achievement of the foregoing objectives.²

Palauans were expectant over the American presence and impressed by the demonstrated might of the circumstances surrounding their arrival in the islands. The Japanese, who had for some thirty years built an impressive physical infrastructure and had inspired the sort of confidence in permanence which tends to go with such things, were utterly crushed by the advance of the massive and relentless American war machine that reduced the islands' concrete, steel, and rockwalled structures to rubble within the space of two and a half years. The Palauans were duly impressed with this demonstration, and, as one of them explained to me during the study: "What do you call these

Americans who destroy all that the Japanese built, and bring the Japanese to their knees in such a short period of time? You call them 'sir'."

The initial American presence in Palau following the war was very small; less than a hundred people for the military administrative period, 1944-1947. From 1947 – the time that the

Trusteeship Agreement was implemented – until 1951 when the U.S. Interior Department was given responsibility for the administration, there were not appreciably more than that. This contrasted with the prior Japanese presence which saw the expatriates far outnumber the Palauans:

YEAR	JAPANESE	PALAUANS	CHAMORROS
1920	592	5205	149
1925	1054	5735	222
1930	2078	5794	215
1935	6553	6013	271
1940	23767	6339	248 ³

The presence of the Japanese in Palau, and in Micronesia as a whole, can be divided into several periods. The first was the period of administration by the Imperial Navy as a spoil of war. The Japanese had seized the islands, bloodlessly, from the Germans at the outbreak of WWI in 1914. From that time, until the signing of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 – a space of five years – there was no national Japanese policy towards Micronesia and, in fact, there were members of the Japanese Diet who were against remaining in the islands at all in any official capacity.⁴ The Americans were opposed to the Japanese presence in Micronesia but could do little to oust them since they were already in possession and, moreover, the British had been maneuvered into supporting the Japanese post-war claims by official, though secret, agreements in 1915 and even before.⁵ What the Americans did insist upon was that the Japanese administer the islands according to mandate by the League

of Nations, and only under such arrangement would the Americans recognize their claims. This was acceptable to the Japanese and, in 1922, they instituted a purely civil government under the specially-established Nanyo-Cho (South Seas Bureau).

It was then, during the 1920s, that the real Japanese economic development efforts in Micronesia got underway. Phosphate mining, which had been started by the Germans, was increased and improved by the Japanese at several island locations. In Palau the phosphate was mined at Anguar. Also, bauxite was mined on the large island of Babelthuap at Ngardmau. Sugar was grown on Saipan, Tinian and Rota in the Marianas, and by the mid-1930s this crop accounted for more than two-thirds of the revenues from Micronesia. However, the advent of the sugar agribusiness is mentioned here only because it is a particularly successful and famous one when Micronesia is taken in as a whole; many people know

about it. There was no sugar grown in Palau that could compare with the Marianas effort, although some amounts were produced.

Mining, fisheries, and agriculture were the main economic developments in Palau. Beginning in the mid-1920s there were large numbers of homesteaders brought to Palau from rural areas in Japan. Four large settlements were established: *Asahi-mura*, *Yamato-mura*, *Shimizu-mura*, and *Mizuho-mura*. These homesteaders were gentle, hard-working people who came with their families, and planned to remain for good. Each family was provided with building materials and various plant seeds with which to start their livelihoods. The Palauans got along very well with these homesteaders and seemed to have been quite impressed with their industry, energy, and peacefulness.

In Koror, large numbers of Japanese were settled to undertake various business and government enterprises. A newspaper was established, the government expanded steadily, and Palau was made the seat of the Japanese administration even before the close of WWI. As increasing numbers of Japanese citizens arrived, the Palauans were moved farther and farther away from various locales in the district center. Malakal Harbor area was completely Japanese, and Medali, a nearby community, was a Japanese enclave where eventually also no Palauans were allowed to live.

Schools were established immediately during the Imperial Navy administration in 1915. These were primarily for the islanders at first. But then, as more and more expatriates arrived, segregated schools systems were instituted. An elementary system for Japanese was started which had schools designed to

prepare students to go on to further education in Japan. For the islanders, the *kogakko* was established. These were elementary schools only for *tomin* (islanders). Some thirteen of them were eventually established in Palau. They were staffed by at least one Japanese teacher and one or more Palauan assistants. Three years of *kogakko* was required, and then promising students were allowed to have two more years, but this was available only in Koror. Students from the outer areas of Palau had to come to Koror and board in order to take advantage of this opportunity, and a good many of them did. Toward the end of the 1930s, a special vocational school was also established in Koror, called the Woodworkers Apprentice School. However, Palauans could only aspire to skilled and semi-skilled trades at this school, not professional or managerial positions.

Life in school was often harsh and always rigorous. Japanese language was the major emphasis in the curriculum, although social studies, hygiene, arithmetic, and practical arts were also taught. Punishments were severe and corporal. However, the schools did their intended job, and the students who went through them are not as critical as one might expect. The Japanese aim was to cultivate the Palauans to serve their development purposes, and this they did very well.

As the Japanese firmly settled themselves in at Palau, and as the government officials took up residence there, Koror town became a thriving place. As Palauans progressed in school, they began to gain employment in the labor force and, by the time of the outbreak of the Pacific War, quite a few Palauans had jobs, although these were always

marginal when compared with the structure of the entire labor force. Palauans, in some cases, had more than only menial, subservient jobs. They served as policemen, teachers' assistants, and assistants in various government offices and businesses.

What follows is a brief compendium of some of the testimonies taken in Palau of eye-witnesses who were employed variously by the Japanese prior to WWII.⁶ The oldest informant was Joseph Tellei who was born in 1901 and who first worked as a male nurse assistant in the Japanese hospital. In 1921, he was appointed a *junkei* (native policeman) and worked in this capacity throughout the 1930s. He assisted in making arrests and on numerous occasions was commended for his work. He served also as an interpreter and helped to break several difficult cases. Tellei died in 1987.

Another was Meltel who was born in 1911 and came to Koror from Melekeok after finishing *kogakko*. He was hired as a tea-boy by the Palau Shicho and in 1925 was appointed a *junkei*. Fritz Rubasch, also born in 1911, began working as a delivery boy for the Nanyo Boeki Company soon after he completed school in 1925. He later worked for the Palau Shicho at ten yen per month, assisting in the printing and delivering of government announcements. In 1931 he was appointed a *junkei* on the very positive recommendation of his supervisor at Palau Shicho. In 1932 he visited Japan, serving as an interpreter for the Palauan elders making the *kanko-dan* trip (cultural tour).

The position of *junkei* was one of the most prestigious, powerful, and highest position Palauans could aspire

to during the Japanese period within the government structure. However, in any given year there were only three or four *junkei*.

Mareno Lekeok, who was born in 1913, began delivering telegrams in 1926 for five yen per month. He was promoted to telephone operator and in 1930 was transferred to the power plant which produced electricity for the Nanyo-Cho communication station, where he earned fifteen yen per month. In the late 1930s, Lekeok went to work for the Nanyo Denki Company.

Singledeb Basilius worked in the agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry office of the Palau Shicho, preparing and filing production records. He also assisted in the teaching of agricultural techniques to Palauans and newly-arrived immigrant farmers. Even though Singledeb is today the Reklai, one of the two paramount chiefs of Palau, he works regularly in his extensive gardens at Melekeok.

Francisco Morei, born in 1922, and Yano Mariur, born in 1924, both began their employment as tea-boys. Mariur moved on to work for Nanyo Kohatsu Kaisha (NKK) collecting, inspecting, and grading copra, and Morei was promoted in about 1935 to the company's Peleliu accounting office because of his proficiency on the *soroban* (abacus). In 1943, Morei was transferred to Koror to work as an assistant accountant for the Nanyo Boeki Kaisha (NBK) when it merged with NKK. Later, in the American period, Morei went on to become a judge in the island courts. He died in 1986.

Elibosang Eungel, born in 1924, was hired by the Palau Shicho to do carpentry work as soon as he graduated from the *Mokkō Totei Yōseijo* (Wood-



workers' Apprentice School), but after three months he left the government to join a Japanese carpenter named Kobayashi, in private business.

Although there were some Palauans working in private businesses such as Elibosang, most worked for the governments in low-level jobs. No one reported that Palauans owned and operated any private businesses themselves in Koror. However, Joseph Delemel operated a general merchandise store and market on Angaur. His customers were mainly the Micronesian phosphate miners there. According to Francisco Morei, Delemel had a contract for supplying food to the local miners. For this purpose, Delemel had taro and tapioca gardens in Airai, as well as piggeries, and operated his own large boat.

The above accounts are representative. The involvement of the Palauans in the labor force can be characterized as (1) marginal, (2) in menial, and low-level jobs for the most part, but (3) with greater responsibility in some cases. It is reasonable to suppose that had the Japanese tenure in the islands been longer, more and more Palauans would have occupied positions of greater stature and responsibility. The Palauans were capable of working and working very hard. There were those who worked in the mines at Angaur and Ngardmau, but also those who worked as stevedores at the Koror docks in Malakal Harbor. There were always jobs available for those who wanted to work; pay was adequate for buying the necessities and supporting one's family. Many Palauans saved money.

Of course, there were large numbers of workers imposed from the outside and these came from Taiwan, Korea, and Okinawa. Many of these types

worked in the fisheries. Not all of the enterprises are covered here. The main thing to reflect upon is the example which was set by the Japanese. It conveyed the message that hard work is the rule and it pays off. One does not progress unless he works and works hard. The eye-witnesses seemed to have gotten this message very well. Today the Palauans are known as the most energetic and opportunistic of all the Micronesians of the former TTPI. This is not an empirically measured fact, but rather a reputation which is widely held, well known, and generalized. It is also something that the Palauans are proud of. One respondent put it this way: "It is because of the Japanese example that we are so enterprising and industrious."

The advent of the Pacific War began to change many Palauans' views toward the Japanese. As the war went badly for the Japanese, they became more and more harsh and took to often beating the Palauans in order to force them into various labor duties contributing to the war effort. This kind of treatment soured many Palauans, but today, most of those who reflect upon it seem understanding of the reasons for it. They are not bitter. It is the younger Palauans who have not actually experienced the Japanese times, but who have heard the stories of the harshness and exploitation who are most critical of the Japanese.

The American times in Palau can be characterized as being wholly different from the Japanese times. Following the securing of the islands from the Japanese forces by the Marines in 1945, all Japanese nationals were rounded up and returned to Japan within one year. The economy of Palau collapsed

completely. Since there were no Palauan managers able to step in and take over the many business enterprises which existed, all of these foundered even though they were technically "turned over" to the Palauans by the American authorities. Small stores which might have continued operation by Palauans also closed because there were no supplies to replenish the stocks.

The United States Commercial Company (USCC) was charged with supplying the islands and their mandate did not include making profits. Thus, the initial models of commercial enterprise provided by the Americans were of a public welfare nature. This continued for the most part through the period of U.S. Naval military administration, 1944-47, until the establishment of the Trusteeship with the United Nations in July 1947. From that time until 1951, the Navy continued to administer under civil authority until the U.S. Department of Interior was given charge of the administration. There is no accurate way to estimate the budget for Palau during these times. Large amounts of surplus equipment and supplies were given away and not accounted for. Budgets for the entire Trust Territory, including Palau, between 1951 and 1962 never exceeded \$7 million, and oftentimes portions of this amount were not spent and returned by the end of the fiscal year.

No commercial enterprises were started in Palau or elsewhere. The territory was too far away from the U.S. to interest American businessmen and investors, and then also the area was a Trusteeship which it was understood would eventually become self-determining. The main American interest during these times was strategic, not

economic. Over three hundred thermo-nuclear devices were detonated in the Marshall Islands (none in Palau), and the Kwajalein Missile Testing Facility was also begun. At Saipan, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) established a school to train infiltrators who were reportedly sent to Communist China and also Indonesia.

Of the many Trust Territory expatriate administrators and teachers who served in Micronesia during these early times of the American administration, there were a few outstanding community development workers who promoted small business ventures in Palau, and encouraged individual initiatives. Their work was extremely frustrating because the administration, although supportive as far as lip-service was concerned, never seriously put budgets behind these efforts.

For their part, Palauans became cynical. Some observers accused them of lethargy and complacency, and these observations were certainly not without foundation. Nor were they without some explanation logically. After the massive economic demonstrations by the Japanese — clearly within the memory of the Palau leadership — the American efforts seemed not only feeble, but deliberately regressive and counter-productive.

The administration of President Kennedy brought new policies which were designed to encourage rapid development. However, these efforts were focused not on economic development and the establishment of infrastructure, but rather on education and social development in the hopes that Palauans and other Micronesians would undertake investment and economic development opportunities themselves. After a dozen or so years

of this kind of development policy, the American budgets began to fall, as a number of studies of the period suggested that the return for the social development investment was not paying off in ways as anticipated. It was then left to the slowly growing private sector to carry on.

As the political status talks progressed and the political status of "free association" was adopted, large amounts in block grants were designated for physical infrastructure: roads, harbors, and airfields. By the mid-1970s tourism, especially from Japan, had taken hold, and gradually more hotels were built; some by private entrepreneurs, others by outside investors.

Today Palau again bustles with considerable economic activity which is underwritten by the Japanese. Since the mid-1970s Japanese tourists have been arriving in the islands in larger and larger numbers, and many of these people have formed contacts which have led to the establishment of small businesses. There is no way to accurately measure the amount of current Japanese investment in Palau because of the many small businesses which are underwritten. The large investments are easy to measure. The Palau Pacific Resort, one of the Tokyu Hotel Corporation's investments, was opened in 1984. It is a first-class hotel which was constructed at a reported cost of \$15 million. Over fifty Palauans work at this facility. The Palau Nikko Hotel also employs a number of Palauans and is Palau's second-finest after the Tokyu Resort. There is not a problem getting labor in Palau, although getting highly-trained or specialized labor is still a problem. The point to be made here is that it is easier to get relatively reliable labor in Palau than any other

place in freely associated Micronesia.

The strictness, harshness, and selfishness of the Japanese colonial period seems to be paying off in Palau in a curiously positive way. The Japanese effort at economic development in Palau was a good model. Never again will Palauans be exploited in the ways that the Japanese exploited them. The lessons learned were difficult ones oftentimes, but they served well and have created now a kind of beginning mutual respect. One informant, in reflecting on the differences between the Japanese of yesteryear and those who come to Palau today, said: "Before they stood straight; now they bow."

How are we to compare these two periods; Japanese and American? (1) The Japanese were exploitive; the Americans slowly developmental with regards to economic development. (2) The Japanese were harsh; the Americans soft. (3) The Japanese government subsidized economic development; the Americans did not — at least in the early years of their administration. (4) Under the Japanese, Palauans could see a direct relationship between work and income; with the Americans, they could not.

The future development of Palau looks bright in the sense that Palauans understand better than most Micronesians that outside investment in the private sector is needed. They also understand the need for keeping control of the outside investment in order that exploitation will not occur again as it did in the past. However, while the strictures of enterprise and hard work are well understood by the older generation, they are not so well understood by many of the younger people who have been raised in the American times

when a welfare mentality was inadvertently, but really, instilled. contribute to making Palau today the most interesting and exciting place in all of Micronesia.

These inconsistencies and paradoxes

NOTES

- ¹ Micronesian Area Research Center (MARC), University of Guam, *An Oral Historiography of the Japanese Administration in Palau*, Final Report, submitted to the Japan Foundation, October 1986. This report is available at MARC.
- ² Admiral Raymond Spruance, USN, "Directive: Post-war Naval Policy", taken from: F.X. Hezel, and M. R. Berg, eds. *Winds of Change*; A Book of Readings on Micronesia History, Saipan, Education Department, ESEA Title IV-C, 1979, p. 494.
- ³ Statistics of the Pacific Islands, Tokyo, International Japan Association, 1940, p. 813; Donald R. Shuster citing in MARC Final Report, *op. cit.*
- ⁴ Mark R. Peattie, *Tropic Sun: The Japanese in Micronesia, 1885-1945*, (forthcoming) University of Hawaii Press, Pacific Monograph series., pp. 71-133 in mss. treat the Japanese arrival in Micronesia.
- ⁵ Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, Princeton University Press, 1984, pp. 172-213, treating the background to the Japanese arrival in Micronesia.
- ⁶ Micronesian Area Research Center, Oral Historiography of the Japanese Administration in Palau, *op. cit.*



Parliamentarians' Art Exhibit in Taipei

APCC

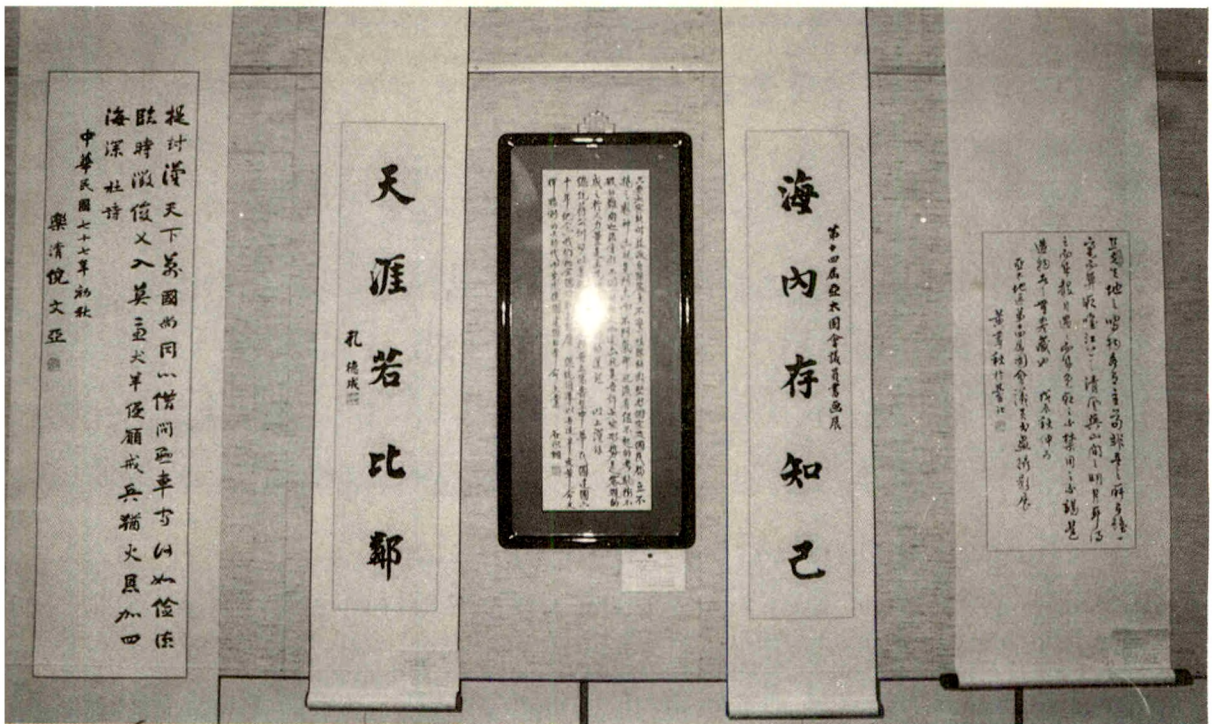
Arranged by the Asian-Pacific Cultural Center (APCC) of the Asian-Pacific Parliamentarians' Union (APPU), the 14th Asian-Pacific Parliamentarians' Exhibit of Calligraphy, Paintings, and Photographs (signboard shown above was just outside the exhibition room) was held at the Taipei Municipal Social Education Hall (entrance pictured below; the big Chinese characters are about the exhibit) on October 9-15 of 1988.

The 149 items from Japan, the Republic of Korea, and the Republic of China itself were viewed by an estimated 3,000 people. The exhibit was tied with the 23rd APPU General Assembly, held at the Grand Hotel in the city and attended by 143 delegates and observers from 14 member national groups, two member associate groups, three affiliated organizations, and one observer country. The participants took part in the ROC's National Day celebration on October 10 and visited the exhibit.

APPU, founded as APU (Asian Parliamentarians' Union) in 1965 and changed to APPU in 1980, aims at "achieving and preserving freedom and democracy, thereby securing enduring peace and prosperity" in the region.

Started in Taipei in 1972 as an agency of the Union, APCC (ACC – Asian Cultural Center – at first) strives to preserve, develop, and advance the region's cultures, promote cultural interflow and cooperation among member countries, and help enrich the moral life of man as social progress continues. Publication of this *Asian Culture Quarterly* is part of APCC's regular activities.





The word “calligraphy” derives from the Greek *Kalligraphia*, which means “beautiful writing.” It is known that the subdivision of writing into functional and decorative categories has been recognized from early times.

The purpose of calligraphy is primarily to please the eye, often even at the expense of legibility. Scholars agree that Oriental scripts can be admired by those who have never studied the languages concerned but that the ideal form of calligraphy ought to combine beauty and legibility.

To the Chinese – also to the Japanese and Koreans who use the same ideographs in part of their writing – calligraphy is as much an art as painting. Writing may be neat and even ornate but that does not necessarily make it calligraphy. Originality, style, strength, and personality must be shown.

The development of calligraphy as an art owes much to the use of Chinese writing brush and paper. Invented before the 5th century B.C., the brush is subtle and responsive. Lines and strokes can be made exactly as one intends. Quickly absorbent paper was invented in the early years of the Christian era. It does not distort the forms of the characters while writing. Furthermore, it defies correction. Lines and strokes cannot be altered once they are on the paper.

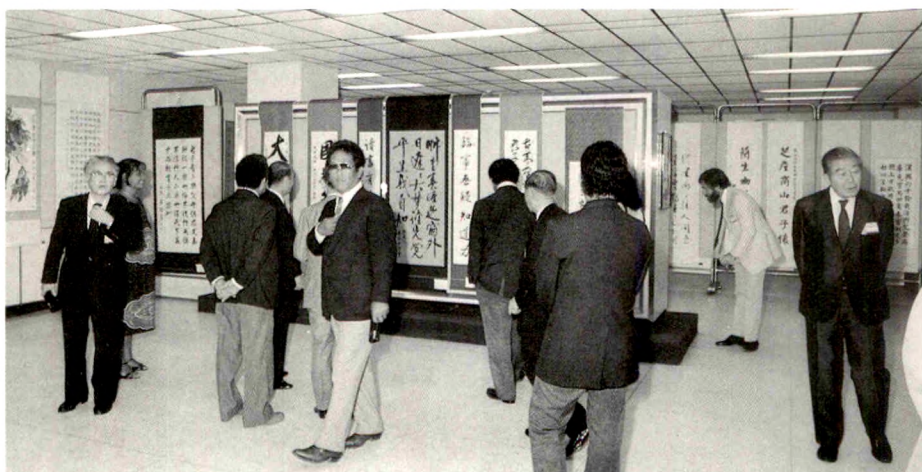
Shown above on display at the APCC Taipei Exhibit are works of four leading ROC parliamentarians. They are, from left, those of Nieh Wen-ya (president, Legislative Yuan), Kung Teh-cheng (president, Examination Yuan; also acting president of the APPU ROC National Group), Ku Cheng-kang (president of the group) centerpiece flanked by Kung's couplet, and Huang Tsuen-chiou (president, Control Yuan). Kung and Ku are both members of the National Assembly. Kung, lineal descendant of Confucius of the 77th generation, chaired the 23rd APPU General Assembly.



From Seoul came the calligraphic works of seven distinguished Korean parliamentarians. APCC arranged the presentation (above) so it would look at its best as a whole.

Shown from left to right are: 1. "Passage from the Analects" by Hon. Chul-Su Hwang (Democratic Justice Party); 2. "No Gate to Great Way" by Hon. Yong-Sam Kim (president of Reunification Democratic Party); 3. "Peace and Well-being for All" by Hon. Jong-Pil Kim (president of New Democratic Republican Party); 4. "Exhilarating Knowledge" by Hon. Yong-Chae Kim (New Democratic Republican Party; couplet in two scrolls flanking the one listed next); 5. A verse by Hon. Giel-Joong Yoon (chairman of Democratic Justice Party); 6. "Ways of Sages" by Hon. Sang-Koo Chung (Reunification Democratic Party); 7. "Righteousness Prevails" by Hon. Joo-Hang Son (Party for Peace and Democracy).

Transportation was arranged for the participating parliamentarians of the APPU General Assembly to visit the exhibit (below).





Chinese painting is easy to look at but difficult to evaluate, or even to describe. Idea and technique achieve a unity unknown to Western painting. The artist strives for the perfection of his technique as part of his philosophy of painting and not as a mere matter of craftsmanship.

Few Chinese artists work from primary images. A landscapist does not sit in front of his scene and paint it stroke by stroke; he works from memory, attempting to invest the recollection with the profundity of his thought.





Mental concentration is necessary before the painting begins. With an image of the finished work before his mind's eye, the artist sets brush to paper. Preciseness of intent and sureness of hand are essential. Erasure, filling in, and painting over are forbidden.

Basic equipment includes brushes, a cake of solidified ink, a stone slab on which the ink is ground and mixed with water, color pigments, and paper or silk.



Six categories of subject matter are known to Chinese painting: landscapes, portraits and human figures, flowers and birds, bamboos and stone, animals, and palaces and other buildings. The Chinese artist is an impressionist in that he feels free to omit objects not essential to his idea.





The works pictured on this and the preceding three pages are by ROC parliamentarians. APCC Secretary-General Dr. Hsueh Jen-yang is shown second from left in the above group photo.

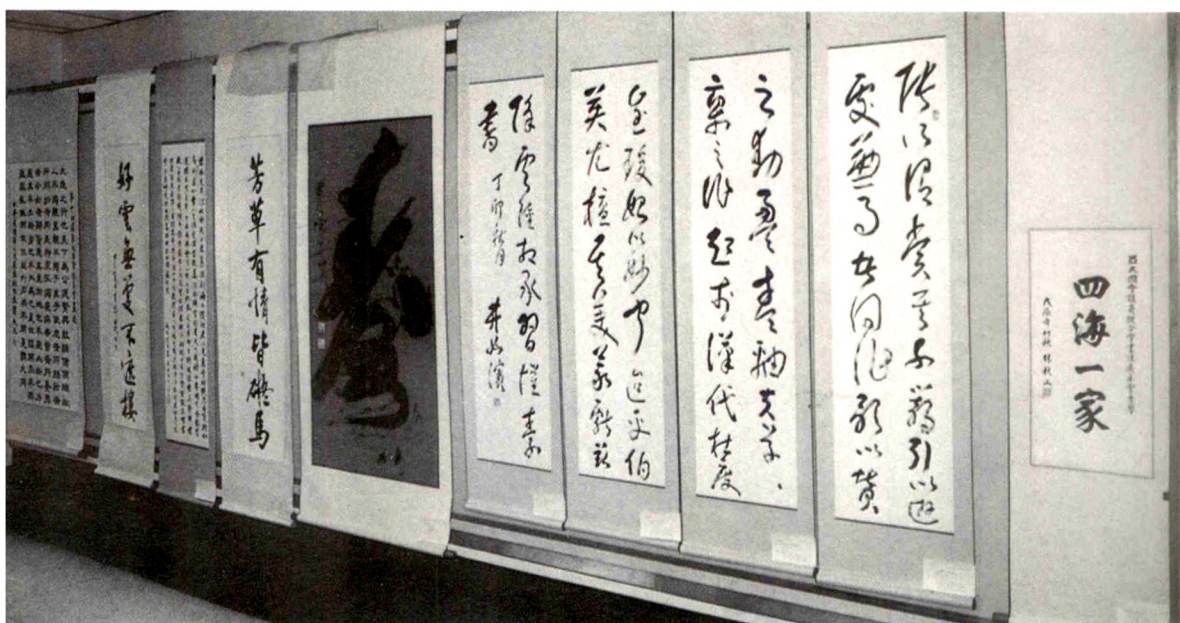
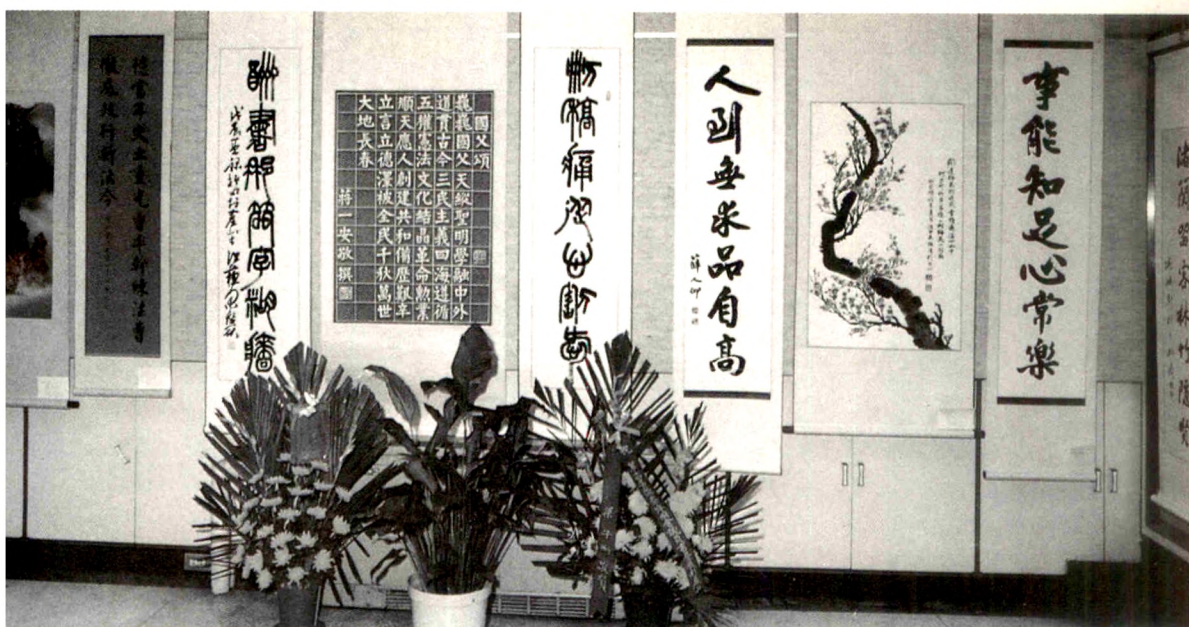




The ideographic Chinese characters present an infinite variety of structural problems that challenge artistic imagination. They are formed by horizontal and vertical lines, dots, hooks, and slanting strokes. It is for the artist to decide the thickness, length, and shape of each mark. He must take into consideration the fact that the size of the characters and the space between them contribute to the beauty of the composition and its rhythm. For variety, he may not always write the same character in the same shape and size.

The calligraphic works from Japan (above) included "Public Interest First of All" by Hon. Takenori Kato, "Nothing Is to Be Taken Too Seriously" by Hon. Daisuke Akita, "Morning Thought" by Hon. Takashi Hasegawa, "Learning for Friendship and Virtue" by Hon. Bunbei Hara, and "Flowers in Spring Breeze Everywhere" by Hon. Ken Harada. The Japanese also displayed many photos of rich folk color (seen on the right panel below).

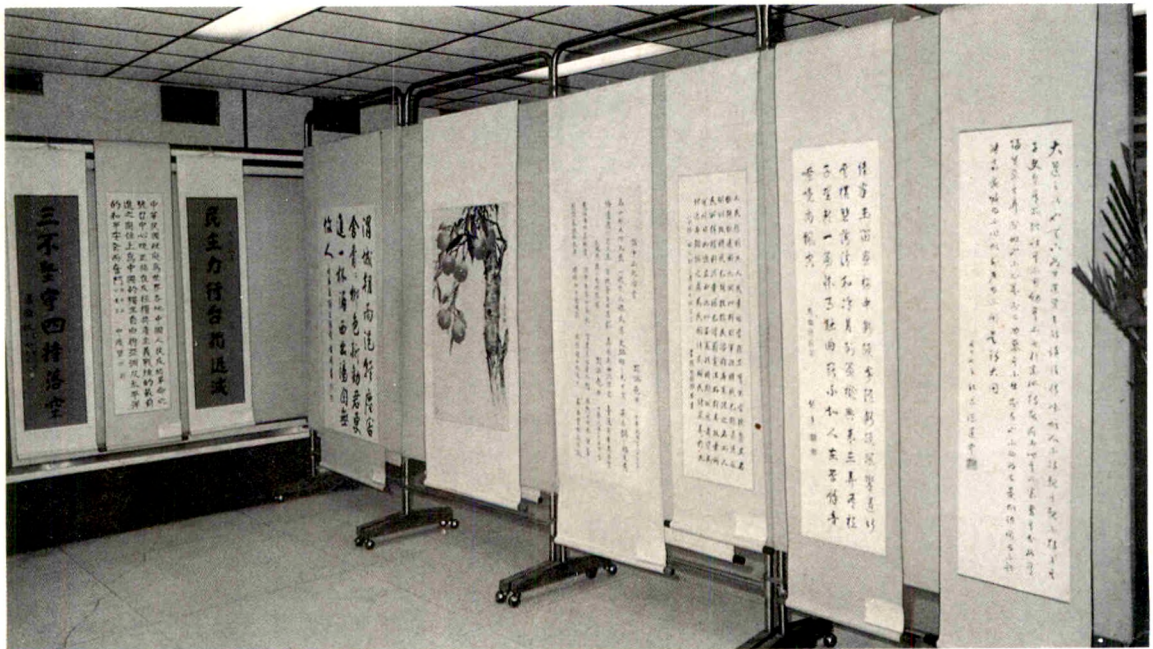




The most common calligraphies are called regular, running, and grass styles. The first is elaborate, with lines and strokes written one after the other; the second, rapid, with lines and strokes joined together whenever convenient; and the third a shorthand form of writing. Examples of these and other styles, done by parliamentarians of the ROC, are pictured on this and the following three pages. The top picture on this page shows two sets of typical arrangement one often sees in the ancestral hall or sitting room of a Chinese home – a couplet in two matching scrolls flanking a centerpiece.



What a calligrapher* chooses to write about, whether a poem, a proverb, or a passage from a classical essay, usually is unimportant, just as the subject's identity may not matter in a Western portrait. Some of the characters may be distorted and rendered unrecognizable, if the calligrapher feels that this enhances the artistic appeal of his work. Lin Yutang has put it this way: "In appreciating Chinese calligraphy, the meaning is entirely forgotten, and the lines and forms are appreciated in and for themselves. . . . A painting has to convey an object, but a well-written character conveys only its own beauty of line and structure."



以台灣進步之事實鼓舞大陸同胞
奮起抗暴之信心 以建設台灣之
經驗為重建大陸之藍本

光緒
行憲四十週年紀念恭錄
蔣公遺訓

郭驥敬書

第十四屆國會議員書畫展

蒙古文化

蒙古文化

德吉未

古人作書皆重藏鋒右軍謂運筆必須存筋
藏鋒滅跡隱端又曰用尖筆須落筆混成無
使毫露所謂築鋒下筆皆令完成也如錐畫
沙印印泥屋露痕皆言無起止即藏鋒也義
之論筆勢曰蓋書形學也有形則有勢故作
書第一要正腳手次須得形勢三加道潤四
兼拗拔得勢便則已操勝算矣

趙恩煜書

趙恩煜書

“Exaltation of National Culture” in Mongolian by Hon. Te Ku-lai (top left); words by the late President Chiang Kai-shek urging that the Taiwan experience be promoted for the rise of the Chinese mainland people against tyranny and for the future reconstruction there, in Hon. Kuo Chi’s handwriting (above); a passage from Liang Chi-chao’s thesis on calligraphy, presented by Hon. Chao En-yu as his work (left).

大故之天為公選賢與能講信脩睦
 人有所獨親其親不獨子其子
 壯有所用男有分女有長歸
 皆有所養於己力不與其盜竊亂賊而
 地也必藏己而不興盜竊亂賊而
 必為己是故課閑而謂大興盜竊亂賊而
 仁故外戶不閑是謂大同

中華民國七十七年九月
 何宜武敬書



右錄禮運大同篇

Done by Hon. Erwine W. Ho, secretary-general of the ROC National Assembly, this work shows the famous *Ta-tung* ("Grand Unity" or "Great Commonwealth") passage from China's ancient *Li Chi* (*Book of Rites*). The words: "When the Great *Tao* (Way) prevailed, the world was a commonwealth; men of talent and virtue were selected, mutual confidence was emphasized, and brotherhood was cultivated. Therefore, men did not regard as parents only their own parents, nor did they treat as sons only their own sons. Old people were able to enjoy their old age; young men were able to employ their talents; juniors respected their elders; helpless widows, orphans, and cripples were well cared for. Men had their respective occupations, and women their homes. They hated to see wealth lying about in waste, and they did not hoard it for their own use. They hated not to use their energies, and they used their energies not for their own benefit. Thus all evil schemings were repressed, and robbers, thieves, and traitors no longer appeared, so that the front door remained open. This was called *Ta-tung*."

Documents

**Message from H. E. Lee Teng-hui
President of the Republic of China
to the 23rd General Assembly
of the Asian-Pacific Parliamentarians' Union**

Taipei, October 11, 1988

On the solemn opening of this Twenty-third General Assembly of the Asian-Pacific Parliamentarians' Union in Taipei, I would like, on behalf of the government and people of the Republic of China, to extend my warmest welcome to our honorable guests who have come from such distant places around the world.

Since its founding, this fine Union has gathered together the most outstanding minds and forces of the parliaments of many countries to work together to maintain the security, peace, and prosperity of the Asian-Pacific area. Its many outstanding contributions have won our respect and admiration. I deeply believe that all of you delegates participating in this conference will make persistent efforts to pool your talents and wisdom, making new and even greater contributions.

At present, the free countries of the Asian-Pacific region still face the threat of invasion and subversion by communist forces; this threat must not be ignored. At the same time, this region has political, economic, and social problems that are in dire need of solution. What is needed in every case is a consensus among the free countries of the Asian-Pacific region, along with coordinated planning and close cooperation, to promote the continued development of this region, thus enabling the people of the region to enjoy a free, democratic, peaceful, and prosperous life.

The Republic of China is one of the founding member countries of the Asian-Pacific Parliamentarians' Union, and will continue, as in the past, to actively participate in the various activities of the Union. Today the Asian-Pacific region has become an important center of world political and economic development. In this new world situation, the Republic of China is eager to do its utmost to cooperate closely with the Asian-Pacific Parliamentarians' Union in order to open up a bright new road to the future for the Asian-Pacific region.

I offer my sincerest congratulations on the opening of this conference, and wish great success to the conference, and health and happiness to each of the participating delegates.

APPU's Epochal Mission Today

**Address by H. E. Kung Teh-cheng
Member of the National Assembly and
President of the Examination Yuan of the Republic of China
at the Opening Ceremony of the 23rd General Assembly
of the Asian-Pacific Parliamentarians' Union
as Acting President of the Assembly**

Taipei, October 11, 1988

Distinguished Guests, Honorable Delegates and Observers, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I

As political and economic development continues in Asia and the Pacific, growingly greater importance is being attached — in a keen display of interest — to the region's free nations on the stage of international affairs. It is truly significant that at this juncture the Asian-Pacific Parliamentarians' Union (APPU) is solemnly meeting again here in Taipei, Republic of China, this time for the 23rd General Assembly. The ROC National Group, now taking turn to host this Assembly, has decided that because H. E. Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, president of the Group, is indisposed and cannot be present, I be nominated to act on his behalf. With a full awareness of the honor and with utmost sincerity, I hereby extend my and our warmest welcome to you distinguished guests, delegates, and observers.

II

As we review the international situation, we note that because of the efforts jointly made by the statesmen of many nations, dangers of open hostilities have diminished for the time being. We also see that although our region remains plagued by certain contradictions, our people have, with their strong attitudes against wars and aggressions, slowed down the pace of those who have all along been aiming at hegemony. Calmly surveying the possible future changes, we see right ahead of us a golden opportunity for the region's free nations to rest and recuperate for an earnest pursuit of progress and development. Our peoples must make full use of this advantageous occasion. For the sake of individual nations and for the common interests of them all, there must be vigorous endeavors to give the coming Asian-Pacific Era a truly solid foundation.

Here in Asia and the Pacific at this moment, Marxist-Leninist forces are still dominating vast

expanses of land and, in some cases, huge numbers of people as well. The factors we face are veiled but formidable. This being the case, our respite may be over if we allow ourselves the pleasure of it even a bit too long. The free nations and peoples of Asia and the Pacific, I submit, must therefore immediately come to a four-point common understanding:

- Firstly, the free nations must see that to keep the region totally secure and politically stable, each of them must strengthen its domestic unity and political stability as a basis for enhanced solidarity among them and with those of other regions.

- Secondly, realization must be unequivocal that only through acceleration of economic and technological development by each nation as it promotes international and inter-regional cooperation can we solidify the common foothold for regional plentifulness and prosperity.

- Additionally, all must clearly see that vigorous social construction in harmony with equality and through mutual assistance is the very correct path to security of society in all the region.

- Even more important is that we must exalt the essence of Oriental culture and, as we give full play to the strength of ethics and righteousness, promote the forward march of international affairs, because this is the most effective way to obtain mutual support and assistance and to safeguard peace with freedom in all of Asia and the Pacific.

The spirit of the APPU Charter that we have, since the Union's inception, endeavored to manifest embodies the essence of those four points. But thorough implementation has not been possible because some channels of unity and cooperation have remained clogged due to the acts of aggression and united front discord-sowing by the Communists. At present, however, the Red bloc is internally contradictory and divided. Its pace for world communization therefore has been slackened. APPU will now have to accept and fulfill its epochal mission.

III

This General Assembly has brought together the best of parliamentary leaders and talents from the region's various nations. Excellent views certainly will be heard and timely resolutions for the region's needs are expected. Before hearing your valued opinions, however, I would like to present some humble views of mine regarding what APPU should be doing in the current stage. Your comments will be heartily appreciated.

1. National independence, unification, freedom, and security are desired by people everywhere in Asia and the Pacific. All are also similarly interested in the development and progress of the region's newly rising states that are surrounded by seas. At this turning point as the Communists are under strong pressure from forces of freedom, the region's free nations must grasp the new situation and exert their utmost to bring further political reform and progress at home and see to it externally that Marxist-Leninist ideas and systems are held clearly at bay. The painful lessons learned by East Europeans must not be forgotten. No one shall be meek when confronted by Communist aggression and deceit. Consolidated strength must be brought forth for the defense of Asian-Pacific common security.

2. APPU has all along been for the joint economic development of the region. We have been eagerly looking forward to an early realization of the Pacific Basin Plan. But the rising tide of protectionism has dealt sharp blows at the region's developing nations. APPU must, on the one hand,

issue strong calls that economic and sci-tech cooperation be fostered in a joint endeavor to safeguard the region's fruit of development. The Union must, on the other hand, urge that with one voice all those concerned request the United States to assiduously apply the principle of reciprocity in international trade and improve her trade ties with the nations of this region so that all the people, Americans included, will bask in the well-being of economic development.

3. The nations of this region are undergoing rapid social structure changes. Most of the social policies of the past can now hardly apply to the pluralistic patterns we face in society today. APPU therefore must work out a set of guidelines for equitable distribution of wealth and general well-being of life, then strive to build Asia and the Pacific as a region where all will be growingly wealthier under the principle of equitability and similarly enjoying the happiness of life. The results of social construction the Republic of China has achieved in the Taiwan area under the Principle of Social Well-being may well be taken as of reference value when the General Assembly gets to discuss this matter.

4. The Confucianist thinking that forms an integral part of the Oriental culture is the fountain-head of strength for the region's developing nations. This has been affirmed unanimously by many in the East and the West. Ethics and morals are now taken as indispensable at places of work if a nation's economic construction is to gather momentum. Developing nations should work to solve their labor-management disputes, and newly-rising states can further cultivate diligence and frugality for their tasks of nation-building. One can say that for the region to attain stability and growing development and for the people to be happily together, the one and only approach is to do away with Marxist-Leninist evils and promote Confucianist thoughts. APPU must be engaged in an all-out promotion of cultural cooperation and exchanges in the region. This way we shall have enough driving force, intangible as it is, for the charting of a bright future for Asia and the Pacific.

IV

Ladies and Gentlemen: As a founder of the Asian-Pacific Parliamentarians' Union, the Republic of China has for more than two decades constantly endeavored for the Union's ideals. Our endeavor has been for the unity of the region's people. We have been striving to eliminate the threats of Communist aggression and open up a broad avenue for all the Asian and Pacific nations. In the course of this sustained exertion, we have, on the one hand, sought political stability, economic development, and social security at home while, on the other hand, worked for innovation and greater openness so as to win additional trust and support from the Chinese at home and abroad and from the other democratic nations. President Lee Teng-hui, who assumed the reins of government in the wake of President Chiang Ching-kuo's passing early this year, has demonstrated steadfast leadership and open-mindedness for the drive to reunify China in freedom with democracy and equitable wealth for all. What has been done this way has constituted severe shocks to the Chinese Communists across the Straits. We firmly believe that the Republic of China's lofty mission of national reunification will be accomplished. With the spirit and concept of equality, mutual assistance, and mutual respect, the Republic of China will, along with other member nations of the Union, contribute ever more importantly to the building of a lasting new era of Asia and the Pacific.

Thank you very much.

NOTES ON THE AUTHORS

Robert E. Allinson received his Ph.D. from the University of Texas at Austin in 1972. He is Member of Graduate Panel and Department of Philosophy, The Chinese University of Hong Kong. He has authored *Chung-tzu for Spiritual Transformation: An Analysis of the Inner Chapters* (State University of New York Press at Albany, 1989), edited *Understanding the Chinese Mind: The Philosophical Roots* (Oxford University Press, 1989), and co-edited *Harmony and Strife: Contemporary Perspectives, East and West* (The Chinese University Press, 1988). In 1987 he was appointed Senior Associate Member, St. Antony's College, Oxford University.

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T. H. Chen (陳民耿) has been teaching at Chinese Culture University in Taipei since 1961. A former editor of the *World Politics* Monthly of Nanking and secretary of the Academia Sinica, he was with the Republic of China Delegation to the League of Nations in Geneva and later served as section chief of the ROC Delegation to the United Nations in New York.

Dirk Anthony Ballendorf is Professor of History and Director of Micronesian

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APCC — Asian-Pacific Cultural Center — under the Asian-Pacific Parliamentarians' Union (APPU) is publisher of this Quarterly. Some of the passages appearing in the pictorial "Parliamentarians' Art Exhibit in Taipei" were based on publications by the ROC Government Information Office.

NOTES: Joseph S. M. Lau, whose article "The Courage to Be: Suicide as Self-Fulfillment in Chinese History and Literature" appeared in the last ASIAN CULTURE issue, is Professor of Chinese (not "Professor of China" as mistakenly printed in the "Notes on the Authors" then) at the University of Wisconsin Madison. He is at present Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Chinese Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.